HISTORY

FROM THE EARLIEST

TO THE DEATH OF COMMODUS

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PREFACE

It is a fact which cannot but be surprising to every one who has at all looked into the subject that notwithstanding the extraordinary efforts which have within the last thirty or forty years been made by great men of all countries in investigating the History of Rome—her Constitution Laws Religion Literature and Social condition—and notwithstanding the important results which have not only changed the aspect of the early History of Rome but have at the same time given a different tone and colour to the later history of that extraordinary nation—the books on Roman History which are used in our schools still continue to a great extent to be what they were half a century ago Old errors and misconceptions which have long since been exposed and exploded by scholars are daily repeated and impressed upon the mind and memory of the rising generation, and the student is left to discover these errors at a maturer age when it is not always an easy matter to get rid of them But why in the name of truth should boys continue to learn that which has been proved again and again to be false and incorrect, and which afterwards they have to unlearn? The teacher has so much to do in storing the minds of his pupils with knowledge and in training their mental powers to independent activity that it is worse than waste of time to teach that which is false or unsound, and which in the

progress of their studies must prove an obstacle rather than an assistance

So long as any science of whatever kind it may be is yet in its infancy and so long as no great and positive results have been gained in it the subject is not a fit one for educational purposes only that which is well known and firmly established can form a solid foundation for a youth to take his stand upon from which afterwards he may extend his studies in whatever direction he pleases What is here said of *science in general* holds good also of any *uncertain or disputed points* in any science of which use is made for educational purposes But if in any subject which does form part of a liberal education great and important discoveries have been made certainly no teacher who is in earnest about the intellectual advancement of those intrusted to his care can with impunity overlook and disregard the new light which has been thrown on that subject. But this unfortunately is the case with Roman History it is taught more or less in all schools and in the majority of cases without the least regard to the immense progress that has been made in it since the year 1811 when Niebuhr published the first edition of the first volume of his great work.

The object which the author of the present undertaking has kept in view was to produce a book which should place the History of Rome before the young student in a manner worthy of and consistent with, the progress which has been made in this branch of our historical knowledge Whether he has been successful in his attempt he must leave others to judge It should however be borne in mind, that to condense and to select out of an immense mass of detail that which is really necessary to give a vivid picture of any period in history is often far more difficult than to give a minute narrative of all the particulars recorded in the authorities In conformity

with the principle above laid down, he has stated as facts those points which are now acknowledged by all competent judges to be facts, though in older books they are either not mentioned at all or are placed in a wrong light Among them he may mention the nature of the plebeians, and their relation to the patricians, which render the history of the long protracted struggle between the two orders so instructive and interesting the character of the ager publicus and of the agrarian laws, for these are no longer the opinions of this or that scholar, but facts established as firmly as any others in history Those points, on the other hand, which are still matters of uncertainty or dispute, have when necessary been stated as such, or passed over altogether in order not to confuse the learner References to ancient authorities have been given only where they seemed to be of particular interest and on the whole the author has been sparing of them, partly in order not to increase the bulk of the work, which even as it is has grown larger than he anticipated and partly because he knows from experience that they are of little use to young students, the majority of whom are not in the possession of all the ancient writers and if they were would not be able to consult them with advantage

He needs hardly remark, that he has availed himself of all the more important works on Roman History, or portions of it which have appeared since the time when Niebuhr gave a fresh life and new impulse to the subject, and wherever the opinions of Niebuhr have been confirmed by subsequent investigations the author has not scrupled to adopt them, and even to use his very words when they seemed to him to convey in the most appropriate manner that which he had to state those words when he had the happiness of being among the pupils of that distinguished man made in many instances so deep an impression upon his then youthful mind that it would be at

once difficult and painful to him to express his sentiments in any other language But notwithstanding his veneration for his instructor he has endeavoured to exercise his own judgment, as will be perceived by those who are acquainted with the views of Niebuhr

When the author entered upon his undertaking he intended to carry the History of Rome down to the year A.D 476 that is to the overthrow of the Western Empire, but during the execution he found that in order to get the whole within reasonable compass he should have to curtail considerably the history of those periods which are of most importance to young scholars to make this sacrifice for the purpose of being able to relate the history of a period which offers little to instruct and less to interest a young mind and nothing calculated to ennoble the feelings seemed to him to be opposed to the objects for which the book was intended He has therefore carried the History of the Empire no further than to the death of Commodus at which time the moral degradation of the Empire reached its highest point and he must refer those who wish to prosecute the study onward to the master work of Gibbon or to the brief but graphic sketches in Niebuhr's Lectures on Roman History In conclusion he ventures to express a hope that the present work though mainly designed for schools and colleges may be found a not unwelcome gift to the more intelligent among general readers

L SCHMITZ

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HISTORY OF ROME.

INTRODUCTION

GENERAL CHARACTER OF THE HISTORY OF ROME—ITALY AND ITS EARLIEST INHABITANTS.

EVERY nation owes the position it occupies in the history of the world, partly to its innate genius, and partly to the circumstances under the influence of which it grows and develops its character In the history of Rome both these things combined to make her the mistress of the world and often when circumstances had reduced her to the last extremities her peculiar genius rose with fresh vigour and energy and carried victory before it From the moment of her foundation Rome had to secure her existence by force of arms and like a young giantess she crushed one after another, every one of her neighbours that came in contact with her until towards the end of the fifth century after her birth she had subdued all the tribes of Italy and acquired the sovereignty of the whole peninsula What, in her youth the giantess had been obliged to do in self defence and what had been a struggle for her own existence became in the end her favourite pursuit, one war ever gave rise to fresh wars, she hastened from victory to victory and from conquest to conquest, till about the beginning of the Christian era she dictated her laws to nearly the whole of the known world A

of the spirit of antiquity was glimmering, throughout the middle ages, beneath the overwhelming heaps of its ruins, until, about the middle of the 15th century, at the time of the revival of letters, it burst forth into a blazing flame which soon spread light and warmth over the whole of civilised Europe

But more important than all this is the fact, that the whole of our modern civilisation is only a further development of that of the Romans, and is essentially based upon it, for the history of all the nations of antiquity ends in that of Rome, and that of all modern nations has grown out of that of Rome The languages of Italy and its surrounding islands, of Spain, Portugal, France, and to some extent of England also, are to this very day so many proofs of the power and influence of the Romans in those countries These languages are only dialects formed from the Latin, and modified by time and a variety of circumstances, and whoever wishes to acquire a thorough knowledge of them will find the key in a proper understanding of the Latin The greater number of the towns in the southern and middle parts of Europe are foundations of the Romans, and owe their origin to their wonderful system of colonisation In this respect, again, there is no modern nation which presents such striking resemblances with Rome as England, whose spirit and system of colonisation is not equalled by any other European nation The barbarians, who destroyed the Roman empire towards the end of the fifth century of our era, were themselves subdued by the spirit of Rome, which still continued to live in her institutions and her language, and thus it came to pass, that, although Rome's political and military power was broken, yet the spirit of her institutions and language exercised its influence upon the victorious barbarians, and so became the groundwork of a new European civilisation Proofs of this readily present themselves to an attentive observer in all the countries of Europe, from its southernmost point to the Baltic and the extreme north of Scotland But it was, above all things the Roman law, the most genuine and perfect production of the Roman mind, that retained

its influence almost unimpaired No nation of antiquity had shown such wisdom in its legislation, or brought its code of laws to such a state of perfection and internal consistency as the Roman, nay, there is, perhaps, not one among modern nations that in this respect can be compared with it This legacy of the Roman mind, therefore, continued to retain its ascendancy down to the latest times, among the nations which conquered Rome In England the Roman law, it is true, never struck such firm root as in some other countries, especially in Germany, where a shadow of the Roman emperors continued to exist down to the beginning of the present century. but, even in our English law, the traces of Roman influence are greater and more nume

a much higher degree in that of Rome As there is no modern nation whose history presents so many points of resemblance and comparison with that of Rome as the English, so the history of Rome deserves the greatest attention of every Englishman who has here an opportunity of seeing the history of his own country, as it were foreshadowed in a mirror There is a class of persons who look at all historical studies, and more especially at the study of antiquity, with disregard, if not with contempt, and at best treat it only as a matter of curiosity Such a mode of thinking however is only the fruit of ignorance which generally depreciates that which lies beyond its comprehension, and surely no one ought to listen to the advice of persons who talk about things of which they are ignorant That school of modern philosophy, moreover, which would fain turn our eyes from the past and persuade us to look only to the present and the future is of the very shallowest kind it removes from under our feet the firm ground on which we stand, and shows as much wisdom as it would if it taught us to believe that men were made for flying instead of walking He who wishes to comprehend the present and divine the future must take his lessons from the past, for it is there that he finds the roots of the present and the germs of the future

Italy is a peninsula stretching into the Mediterranean in a south eastern direction from the foot of the Alps to the straits of Sicily The length from north west to south east is about 750 miles its breadth in the central parts about 150 miles In the north, where its breadth is greatest it is protected by the Alps against the influence of the north winds A range of mountains issuing from the western Alps and running along the coast of Genoa traverses Italy from north to south and forming as it were the spine of the peninsula sends out its ramifications and rivers to the west and to the east thus creating the most beautiful valleys and fertile plains This range of mountains bears the name of the Apennines (*Apenninus mons*) in the south it seems to have been originally connected with

the mountains of Sicily, from which it was torn asunder by the formation of the straits of Sicily The two halves, into which Italy is divided by the Apennines, are countries of a totally different nature the part east of the Apennines is a country of secondary or still more frequently of tertiary formation, and of quite the same character as Illyricum on the opposite side of the Adriatic, the western part, on the other hand, is mostly of a volcanic nature, and of the same kind as the islands of Sicily, Sardinia, and Corsica so that the Apennines rise between two large valleys, the deepest parts of which are filled on the one side by the Adriatic, and on the other by the Tyrrhenian sea The northern part of Italy, between the Alps, the Apennines, and the Adriatic, forms an extensive plain (the plain of Lombardy) intersected by the river Po, and its numerous tributaries, while the whole of Italy, south of this large plain, is a more or less mountainous country, including the richest and most fertile plains and valleys, with hilly districts of the most beautiful and picturesque character The whole peninsula enjoys, generally speaking, a clear, bright, and transparent atmosphere, and is endowed by nature with the greatest advantages and facilities both for agriculture and commerce No wonder, therefore, that Italy in ancient times was one of the most populous and best

of Italy, and belonging to Iapygia [3] At a still later period when the Greek colonies in the south of the peninsula formed an alliance among themselves for the purpose of mutual protection against Dionysius of Syracuse on the one hand and the Lucanians and Bruttians on the other, the name Italia comprehended the whole country south of a line drawn from Posidonia (Paestum) to Tarentum [4] After the war with Pyrrhus B C 278 when the Romans had become masters of the whole of the southern part of Italy, the name Italia comprised the whole peninsula south of the river Tiber, and included a portion of Picenum Lastly about the time of Polybius the name was used in its widest extent embracing the country from the rivers Macra and Rubicon to the straits of Sicily so that Etruria and Umbria were regarded as countries in Italy The extent of country from the foot of the Alps down to the rivers Macra and Rubicon was called Cisalpine Gaul (*Gallia Cisalpina*) being inhabited by a number of Gallic tribes There are many other names used by poets as designations of the peninsula they are derived either from the inhabitants of particular districts or are connected with and explained by certain Greek legends names of this kind are Hesperia Opica Ausonia Oenotria Camesene Argessa Saturnia

The greater part of Italy was inhabited in the earliest times by *Pelasgians* belonging to the same stock as the original inhabitants of Greece The Siculians about the lower part of the Tiber the Tyrrhenians in Etruria the Aborigines in the neighbourhood of Reate (also called Casci Prisci and Sicrani) the Chones and Oenotrians in the west and the Peucetians in the east of southern Italy appear to have been branches of the widely spread race of the Pelasgians A second great tribe which inhabited the north of Italy were the *Umbrians* who are called the most ancient inhabitants of the country [5] Their

[3] Strabo vi p. 254 Thucyd vi 33 Comp Dionysius I 9 and Plin *H N* xviii 12 [4] Dionys 73 [5] Plin *H N* 19

to the south-west of the Sabellians, from the Tiber to the river Laos The Ausonians or Aurunceans formed a distinct branch of this race, and the smaller tribes of the Volscians, Sidicines, Saticuli, and Aequi, likewise belonged to it The Osean language was spoken throughout the south-western part of Italy, and was understood even at Rome, when Osean plays were performed and understood down to a comparatively late period The peninsula forming the south west of Italy was inhabited by the Oenotrians, and the districts to the north and east of the Oenotrians were occupied by the Daunians, Chones, Peucetii, and Sallentines or Messapians We must add the observation, that the whole of southern Italy, from the river Silarus in the west and the Frento in the east, was afterwards called Magna Graecia, on account of the numerous Greek colonies established in that part of the country, which formed the connecting link between the civilisation, arts, and literature of the Italians and the Greeks of the mother country

derived its name from them The ancient name of the Aborigines was Casci, Prisci, or Sacrani,[4] and in connection with those Siculians who remained behind in Latium they gradually formed the people of the *Prisci Latini* that is *Prisci et Latini*, or simply *Latini* The emigration of the Siculians to Sicily was placed by some ancient historians about the year B C 1264,[5] but by Thucydides[7] at a considerably later period, viz about nine hundred years previous to the first Greek settlements in Sicily, that is about B C 1035 But these chronological statements cannot be considered as of any historical value

The Aborigines are described by the poets and historians of later ages as a savage nation without laws and civilised manners and as living on the produce of the chase but this description seems to be no more than a sort of philosophical notion which persons of a civilised age are always apt to form of the earliest periods of their history we know that the Aborigines were an agricultural people, and lived in villages and towns of which Varro, in his *Origines* has given a list and some of which continued to be inhabited in the time of Dionysius of Halicarnassus such as Palatium on the Quintian road Most of these towns however lay in ruins[8] The population of Latium was thus a mixed one consisting on the one hand of Siculians Aborigines and Oscans all of whom belonged to the Pelasgian race and on the other of Sabellians (Sabines) This fact is not only stated in the ancient traditions but is manifest from the language spoken in Latium (the Latin language or the language of the Latins) for we can still distinguish the two elements one is of a Pelasgian character and constitutes the great affinity between the Latin and Greek languages the other element which is utterly foreign to the Greek is of Sabellian origin From these elements so far as they are discernible we may form some

[4] Such as in Servius *ad Virg Aen* Dion s i 22
i 6 comp Niebuhr *Hist of Rome* 7 VI 2
i note 47 [8] Varro in Dionys i 14
[5] See Hellanicus and Philistus ap

as Pelasgian and Arcadian are convertible terms with the Greek genealogists. Evander, accordingly, was said to have come from Arcadia, to have landed in Italy near the Tiber, and introduced there a knowledge of the arts and the ways of civilised life. During his reign Hercules arrived in his kingdom, was hospitably received, and obtained Evander's daughter Laura (Lavinia) in marriage. By her he became the father of Pallas, and from this Pallas the hill and town of Palatium were made to receive their name. Evander himself seems to be only another form of Latinus, for the legends of the two bear a strong resemblance to each other. But tradition separates them by two generations, making Picus and Faunus the successors of Evander, before Latinus became king of the Aborigines. In his reign Aeneas is said to have landed in Italy with his Trojans.

The tradition of the Trojan colony in Latium is the more important as it stands in direct connection with the stories about the foundation of Rome. It should not indeed be regarded in any other light than as a fiction, but it cannot be passed over unnoticed, forming as it does the direct road to the earliest part of Roman story. It would be a hopeless undertaking to seek for any direct or circumstantial evidence to prove the tradition either to be historical or fabulous; and in the absence of all evidence considering also the time of the reputed immigration of the Trojans—the destruction of Troy is commonly dated about 430 years previous to the building of Rome—no one imbued with the spirit of historical criticism can for a moment allow the tradition about the Trojan colony to be of any historical weight. If indeed that colony were described as numerous, and as one that could by any possibility have had an influence upon the people among whom it settled, we might expect to discover some trace or other by which to establish its truth; but giving the greatest latitude to the tradition, the Trojan immigrants were only a small band, for whom the fields of a single village would have been sufficient, and they cannot possibly have changed or modified the character and manners

migration of nations frequently indicate neither more nor less than that there existed a national affinity between the reputed immigrants and those among whom they are said to have settled and this appears to have been the case in the present instance The Trojans belonged to the Pelasgians, so did also the Arcadians (from whom Evander was believed to have come to Italy) and the Epirots on the one hand, and a great part of the inhabitants of *Italy, such as the Oenotrians, Aborigines, and Tyrrhenians*, on the other, and it was probably this national affinity, between nations of the east and of Italy, that gave rise to the stories about the coming of the Trojans into Latium and of the migration of the Tyrrhenians to the islands of Lemnos, Imbros and the countries about the Hellespont The worship of the Penates at Lavinium was believed to be the same as that of the gods of Samothrace, and such a belief might easily give rise to a legend about the introduction of the Penates from the east into Italy [15] The Samothracians themselves were regarded as kinsmen of the Romans [16] Now Samothrace was the centre of the ancient Pelasgian religion, and as Pelasgians met there for religious purposes from all parts of the world it may easily be imagined that there they awakened and strengthened in one another the belief of their kindred through a common ancestor Aeneas

When the elements of the story had once taken root it was like all other legends of the kind further developed and propagated by oral tradition and poetry, but it was looked upon in the main as an indubitable historical fact, notwithstanding the most palpable inconsistencies, and although it might be opposed to the most firmly established events Among the discrepancies in the various accounts we shall mention the following According to the ordinary calculations Troy was taken and destroyed in B C 1184 and Aeneas must, consequently, have arrived in Italy a few years later but Virgil, probably after the example of Naevius and Timaeus described the arrival of Aeneas in Italy

[15] Serv *ad Virg Aen* II 717 [16] Serv *ad Virg Aen* III 12

for the purpose of filling up the long interval between Aeneas and the founders of Rome some of the names are not even Italian others are repetitions out of earlier or later times, and some are formed from geographical names.

All the inhabitants of Latium consisted of two distinct unions or confederacies, which conjointly bore the name of the Latins We are forced to make this distinction in order to understand the contradictory accounts of our authorities, for commonly the Latins or, as they are called the *Prisci Latini*, are said to have inhabited thirty townships, which are called colonies of Alba, founded in the reign of Latinus Silvius, but, in the first place, many of the towns which must have belonged to these thirty, such as Laurentum, Ardea, and Tibur, were older than Alba, and, secondly, Pliny[1] clearly distinguishes between the Latin towns, of which he enumerates upwards of twenty, and the *populi Albenses* who inhabited Alba Longa, and thirty other townships or villages Hence we must infer that only these *populi Albenses* were the colonies said to have been founded by Alba, and not the other more important towns, and that the *populi Albenses* were in the same or a similar relation to Alba as the Attic demes to Athens "they formed' as Niebuhr expresses it, 'the boroughs of a free commonalty' like the thirty plebeian tribes in the constitution of king Servius Tullius This Alban state took part, with the other Latin towns or states, in the common festival celebrated on the Alban Mount in honour of Jupiter Latiaris These thirty Latin states were probably dependent cantons they seem to have stood in the same relation to Alba, the head of the confederacy, as they subsequently did at Rome

From these preliminary investigations it is evident that Latium long before the time assigned to the building of Rome was a flourishing country, and stocked with numerous towns and villages Its inhabitants formed a powerful confederacy, the affairs of which were discussed in assemblies held near the well of Ferentina in

[1] *H. Nat.* iii. 9

the neighbourhood of Alba, and which extended from the Tiber in the north to Terracina in the south The history of the confederacy previous to the building of Rome is completely lo t, for the lists of the kings of Alba, as well as the number of years assigned to the reign of each, must be rejected as late fabrications The founders of Rome are called descendants of the Alban kings, although the legends nowhere describe Rome as a colony of Alba

CHAPTER II

THE FOUNDATION OF ROME—LEGENDS OF ROMULUS AND REMUS, AND THEIR HISTORICAL VALUE—THE TRIBES, CURIAE, AND GENTES.

THE story concerning the foundation of Rome was the subject of ancient law, and was looked upon by the Romans with implicit faith and almost religious reverence When the Romans began to reflect upon the probable origin of their community, they naturally fell upon the idea, which is universally met with in the history of Greek cities, that the founder's name must have had some connection with that of the city, and that consequently it must have been Romus or the diminutive Romulus Now, supposing that there existed a neighbouring place of the name of Remuria[1] on the Aventine, the idea of a twin brother of Romulus would naturally present itself to the mind of a Roman antiquarian, and a hero Remus, who had been slain by his brother on the Palatine, would be the result of such genealogical speculations The notion that Rome was the work of twin brothers was thus in all probability of Roman origin it is peculiarly adapted to the character of the early Roman constitution, in which nearly all the great offices were divided between two persons The legends about the foundation of the city, however, have come down to us in such confusion, and with such contradictions in the various reports, that it is impossible to say what belongs to the genuine ancient tradition, and what may be mere poetical embellishments and inventions grafted upon it by later poets

[1] The existence of a place of the name of Romona, *i. e.* Remona or Remuria, is attested by Dionysius, i. 85

There is no other town in Italy respecting the foundation of which there is so much doubt and obscurity, as there is in that of Rome but the origin of the eternal city was to be clothed in impenetrable darkness its beginning is as obscure and indefinite as the time of its duration

The various statements about the date of the foundation of Rome may be divided into two classes the first contains those accounts in which the building of the city is placed in close connection with Aeneas (or his son) and the Trojans and the second those in which Rome is connected with Alba Longa through the ruling family of the Silvii[2] One isolated statement places the building of Rome even before the Trojan times[3] Timaeus without mentioning the name of any one person as founder made the building of Rome contemporaneous with that of Carthage[4] The traditions of the first class appear to have been current principally among the Greeks whose interest it was to connect the founder of Rome with their own mythical genealogies those of the second which seem to have been a combination of national Italian traditions with others imported by the Greeks and which allow a considerable interval to have intervened between the arrival of Aeneas in Italy and the foundation of Rome were adopted by the Romans themselves The accounts of the latter class vary in regard to the date of the building of Rome between the third year of the sixth Olympiad and the fourth year of the twelfth Olympiad that is between B C 753 and 729 The former of these eras was adopted by Varro as it is supported by most authorities and has been followed by most modern writers on Roman history we shall adopt it in the present work in order to avoid confusion We may add the remark, that Cato placed the building of Rome one year later than Varro that is in B C 752[5] But whatever the discrepancies are in regard to the year of the foundation of the city all

are agreed upon the *day* of the event stating that it was on the 21st of April that is the festival of the Palilia when the country people having prayed to the gods to protect and increase their flocks and to pardon their involuntary violation of sacred spots purified themselves by passing through a fire That day was in later times celebrated every year as the birth day of the city of Rome

It would be idle indeed to attempt to establish the truth of any part of the story connected with the foundation of Rome for whatever may have been its original form successive story tellers and poets in the course of time established one particular form of it which then became an article of popular belief The beautiful form of the legend which was related in prose by Q Fabius Pictor and many others after him was the subject of national songs among the Romans as late as the time of Dionysius of Halicarnassus It runs as follows —Procas king of Alba, who belonged to the family of the Silvii had two sons Numitor and Amulius and on his death he left his kingdom to Numitor the elder But Amulius disregarding the will of his father and stimulated by the love of dominion not only deprived Numitor of his kingdom but put his son to death and compelled his daughter Rhea Silvia to become a vestal virgin whereby he hoped effectually to secure his usurpation against any attempts on the part of Numitor s family to vindicate their rights Numitor himself was left in the possession of his father s private estates and in the enjoyment of them he lived rich and secure But the gods interposed and made the injured maiden the means not only of avenging the wrong that was done to her and her family but of raising a new power before which that of Alba and all the Latins was one day to fall prostrate Once as Rhea Silvia was going to draw water from a well for the service of the goddess Vesta the sight of a wolf made her fly into a cave There Mars overpowered the timid

They who connect the founders of Rome with Aeneas call the unfortunate princess Ilia, and make her a daughter of Aeneas

maiden, and then consoled her with the promise of illustrious children But he did not protect her, and when she was delivered of twins, Amulius, in accordance with the severe law in regard to vestals guilty of unchastity, ordered her to be put to death Her twins were to be drowned in the river Anio The bowl or cradle containing the children was carried into the Tiber, which had at the time overflowed its banks far and wide, even to the foot of the woody hills As the waters decreased, the cradle remained standing on the ground near a wild fig-tree[8] at the foot of the Palatine hill. A she wolf who came to drink at the river, and heard the whimpering of the babes, carried them into her den and suckled them, and whenever they wanted other food than milk, a wood pecker, (which, like the wolf, was an animal sacred to Mars) brought it them, while other birds hovered over them, and protected them from insects This marvellous spectacle was beheld by Faustulus, the shepherd of the flocks of Amulius he took the children, and carried them to his wife Acca Laurentia, who became their foster-mother, and brought them up with her own children, in straw huts, on the Palatine[9]

The two boys, Romulus and Remus, grew the stoutest among the shepherd lads, fought bravely against wild beasts and robbers, and maintained their right against every one by their might The followers or comrades of Romulus were called Quintilii, and those of Remus Fabii Their wantonness engaged them in disputes with the shepherds of Numitor, who fed their flocks on Mount Aventine Remus was made captive, and dragged to Alba before Numitor, as a robber who had encroached upon his estates When Numitor heard of the two brothers, he was involuntarily reminded

[8] This fig tree called *Ficus Ruminalis* was preserved at Rome and held sacred for many centuries after *Ruma* signifies *mamma* (Plin. *Hist Nat* xv 18 Non. Marcell *v* ruma) It is also said that, at one time, the Tiber was called *Rumon* that is, the fertilising river (Serv *ad Virg Aen.* viii 63 90) The name *Roma* is perhaps connected with *ruma*.

[9] The hut of Romulus was preserved and, of course, repaired whenever it needed, as a sacred relic, down to the time of the Emperor Nero

of his own grandsons, and in the end recognised Remus as one of them Romulus, in the mean time, had likewise been informed of his kindred by Faustulus, and the two brothers joined by their faithful comrades, made an attack upon king Amulius Amulius was slain in the affray, and Numitor restored to the throne of Alba Romulus and Remus then resolved upon building a town on the spot where they had passed the days of their infancy Their former comrades joined them in their undertaking, some say that a number of Albans and Latins and even some nobles descended from the Trojans, also took part in it Discord, however, soon arose between the two brothers, who began to dispute as to which of them was to rule over the new city, and whether it was to be called Roma or Remora Others add that the brothers were not agreed upon the site of the new town, Romulus wishing to build it on the Palatine, and Remus on the Aventine, or on a spot which was four miles further down the river[10] As there was no difference of age between them and neither was willing to yield, it was left to the gods to decide the point by augury Romulus accordingly observed the heavens from the Palatine, and Remus from the Aventine, and he whom the gods favoured was to be king and to give name to the new city Remus had the first augury, seeing six vultures flying from north to south When the tidings of it were brought to Romulus, he suddenly saw twelve vultures[11] flying past him Right was on the side of Remus, but Romulus and his party insisted upon the double number of birds as a proof of the divine favour, and Remus was obliged to yield[12] Romulus now set about making the sacred inclosure called the *pomoerium*,[13] according to the custom of the Etruscans

[10] Serv *ad Virg Aen* iii 46 Plut. *Romul* 20

[11] This number of vultures was afterwards believed to contain a prophecy respecting the duration of Rome The number of vultures being taken for the number of *saecula* or centuries that Rome should exist. The six vultures of Remus were interpreted to refer to the six saecula of republican Rome

[12] According to a statement in Livy this dispute ended in blows, and Remus was killed.

[13] See the *Dictionary of Greek and Rom Antiquit* under *Pomoerium*

he yoked a bullock and a heifer to a plough, and drew a furrow round the foot of the Palatine so as to include a considerable tract below the hill Where a gate was to be made, the plough was carried across the space [14] On the line of the pomoerium the city was inclosed with a wall and a ditch In the centre of the city a vault was built underground, filled with the firstlings of all natural productions necessary to support human life, and with earth which each of the settlers had brought with him from his own home This vault was called *mundus* [15] Remus, who still felt the wrong that was done to him, leaped in scorn over the low wall, for which insult he was slain by one Celer, or by his own brother Romulus, who exclaimed, "So shall die whoever ventures to leap over my wall!" But no sooner was the murder committed, than Romulus was seized with remorse and grief he rejected all food and every comfort, until the shade of his brother appeared to their foster father Faustulus, and promised to be reconciled if Romulus would institute a festival for the souls of the dead Romulus not only fulfilled the desire of his brother's shade by instituting the Lemuria,[16] but, as a permanent mark of honour to him, he set up a second throne by the side of his own, with the sceptre, crown, and other badges of royalty [17]

The first act of the founder of Rome was the murder of his brother,—an ominous sign of the position which Rome was destined to occupy, and of the fate which awaited those who should venture to insult her majesty When the city was built, it was found that the small number of settlers would be unable to defend themselves against enemies that might attack them, and in order to increase the population, Romulus threw the city open to every stranger freemen and runaway slaves, as well as exiles and criminals, found a welcome reception at Rome [18] But one

[14] Hence *porta* the name of a gate was derived from the verb *portare*, to carry

[15] This *mundus* was regarded as the entrance to the lower world, and was opened on three different days in the year for the souls of the departed Festus *s v* Mundus, Ovid *Fast* iv 807 Plut. *Romul* 11

[16] Ovid. *Fast* v 461, &c

[17] Serv *ad Virg Aen* i 276

[18] It is stated that Romulus opened

element was still wanting for there were no women at Rome, so that the whole population would have died away after a while Romulus, therefore tried to conclude treaties with the neighbouring towns for the purpose of establishing the possibility of legitimate marriages between his Romans and the women of other states [18] But the offer was treated with dislike and mistrust and the answers which were brought back were insulting to the Romans Romulus then resolved upon obtaining by stratagem or force what was denied to his open and honest request He proclaimed that a festival (the *Consualia*) was going to be celebrated at Rome and invited the neighbouring Latins and Sabines to come and witness the solemnities and games Numbers of strangers with their wives and children flocked to Rome not suspecting the fate which awaited them The Romans set aside all regard for the laws of hospitality and for the religious sanctity of the occasion which should have protected their visitors and when all were intently looking upon the games on a signal being given the Romans fell upon the strangers and carried off their women.[19] The fear and alarm of the maidens were soon soothed but their parents and relatives who had dispersed and taken to flight on the outbreak of the conspiracy prepared to avenge the wrong by main force

The inhabitants of Caenina, Crustumerium and Antemnae

an *asylum* for these strangers. The asylum itself was shown in later times as a small inclosure If that place contained all the strangers who took refuge at Rome their number cannot surely have been very great nor can it, in general be conceived, that the rabble described by Livy and Dionysius should have been very numerous in those early times The whole story of the asylum probably arose out of the idea of the *jus asyli* See Niebuhr *Hist of Rome* i p 324

[18] Had Rome been regarded in the legend as a colony of Alba, the new settlers would not have been in want of women for they would have had the *connubium*, i e the right of contracting legal marriages with Alban and Latin women

[19] The number of the Sabine maidens thus carried off was said to have been thirty and the thirty curiae were believed to have derived their names from them Liv i 13 Plut *Romul* 14 The numbers 3, 10 30 ran through all the Roman institutions, and Livy forgetting this peculiarity thinks that the number of Sabine women was in all probability greater

who belonged to the Latins, impatient of the slowness of Sabines and of their king Titus Tatius, resolved to act for themselves, and took up arms first They marched into the Roman territory, but as they could not agree among themselves, Romulus conquered them one after another Acron, king of Caenina, fell in battle Romulus, with his victorious band, returned to Rome, offering the first *spolia opima* to Jupiter Feretrius At length the Sabines also rose in arms and under their king T Tatius, marched against Rome resolved upon humbling the robbers either by force or fraud Unable to resist in the open field Romulus kept his Romans within the walls of the city Tarpeia, the daughter of Tarpeius the commander of the Roman citadel on the Capitoline, as she descended from the hill to draw water was dazzled by the splendour of the Sabine armour and Tatius prevailed upon her, by promising her some of the gold ornaments of the Sabines to betray her country When the enemy was led to the gate which was opened to them by Tarpeia, they rushed through it but crushed Tarpeia under the weight of the ornaments she had desired, and she expiated her crime by her death [21] Being now in possession of the Capitoline, the Sabines next tried to storm the city The Romans had made a fruitless attempt to recover their citadel and now prepared to meet the Sabines in the valley between the Palatine and Capitoline They were on the point of being defeated when Romulus vowed a temple to the flight staying Jupiter (*Jupiter Stator*) The fight continued for a long time with varying success till at length the Sabine women anxious to effect a reconciliation between their husbands and fathers rushed between the combatants and brought about a peace [22] Its terms were that henceforth the two nations should be inseparably united in one state

[21] The remembrance of Tarpeia's guilt and her death is still preserved at Rome in popular legends Niebuhr *Hist of Rome*, i p 230

[22] Married women at Rome enjoyed many rights and distinctions which we do not meet with in other states of antiquity, and tradition says that they were conferred upon them by Romulus *as a reward for the happy peace and* union they had brought about between the Romans and Sabines

under the name of Romans and Quirites[2] each however was to continue distinct and under its own king, while all temples and religious rites were to be common to both. This was the first step to the increase of Rome's extent and power. The Sabines now built a new town for themselves on the Capitoline and Quirinal, the former hill being its citadel and the residence of king Tatius; while Romulus continued to dwell on the Palatine. When any affair of importance was to be deliberated, the two kings or their senates met in the plain between the Capitoline and Palatine, which was hence called the *comitium*.

This happy union, however, did not last long; for after a few years Tatius was slain at Lavinium during a solemn sacrifice by some Laurentines, to whom his kinsmen had offered some wrong, and to whom the Sabine king had refused to afford redress.[3] No successor of Tatius was appointed, and Romulus, who henceforth was sole king of the Romans and Sabines, made no attempt to avenge the murder of his colleague. But both the Romans and Laurentines were visited by a plague, which did not cease until the guilt of both parties had received the punishment it deserved.

During the long period which now ensued, until the death of Romulus, tradition is very meagre, and the events we have on record scarcely suffice to establish the warlike character which fame has at all times ascribed to Romulus. We hear only of two wars. The first is that against Fidenæ, the inhabitants of which had begun to feel uneasy about the growing power of Rome, and had ravaged the Roman territory. Romulus however put them to flight, and took the town of Fidenæ,[4] which received

[2] *Populus Romanus et Quirites*, or *Populus Romanus Quirites*, which was afterwards corrupted into *Populus Romanus Quiritium*.

[3] The tomb of T. Tatius was afterwards shown on the Aventine hill, where, according to some authorities, the Sabines received settlements from Romulus. (Plut. *Romul.* 23; Varro in *Serv. ad Virg. Aen.* viii. 657.) The latter statement however seems to have arisen from a confusion of the Sabines with the plebeians, to whom the Aventine peculiarly belonged.

[4] This war against Fidenæ is related in almost precisely the same manner as that which occurred about B.C. 437, and is probably nothing but the transfer of an historical event to the mythical ages.

a colony The second war is that against the Etruscans of Veii, who were actuated by the same spirit as the Fidenates They ravaged the Roman territory and returned home with their booty, but Romulus set out and conquered them in an open battle he drove them back into their city, but abstained from besieging them, and having laid waste their country, he returned to Rome The humbled enemy sued for peace, which was granted them on condition of their giving up a part of their territory A truce was further concluded with them for a period of one hundred years

Romulus is said to have ruled thirty seven years, and in the account of his death the legend again assumes that beautiful and poetical character in which it relates the circumstances of his birth and early life On the nones of Quintilis that is on the day on which the festival of the Quirinalia was celebrated when the king was reviewing his people in the plain near lake Capra the sun withdrew his light, and while the earth was covered with darkness, Mars descended in a tempest, and bore his son up to heaven The people fled in dismay, and when light returned they sought their king in vain but their lamentation was changed into religious reverence when they were told by Proculus Julius that the glorified king had appeared to him in a vision and promised to watch over his people as the god Quirinus [26]

These are the outlines of the traditional story of Romulus such as was held sacred at Rome for many centuries, it was commemorated in poetry, and repeated by successive historians That such a legend cannot be taken as history, has been felt at all times by those who looked at history with critical eyes, but the question is whether any information of real historical value can be derived from it and in what manner it is to be arrived at There have been men in ancient as well as in modern times who fancied they could make history out of any poetical or legendary story by stripping it of its poetical features cutting away the supernatural and marvellous and thus reducing it *to a common and* intelligible every day occurrence as if it had

[26] Liv i 16 Cic ro *de Re Publ* ii 41 i 8 9 Ovid *Fast* ii 475 &c.

not been the *intention* of the authorities thus mutilated to give a marvellous story.[7] The results of such dull and perverse proceedings appear in the story of Romulus in various ways, and may be read in the accounts of Dionysius and Plutarch who looked upon such critics as sensible men. The she wolf who suckled the twins, was thus changed into a woman of the name of Lupa and the miraculous disappearance of Romulus was made out to have been nothing but an insurrection of the senators, who, having been dissatisfied with the king's rule, in order to get rid of him and take the government into their own hands, are said to have assassinated him and, from fear of the people, to have spread the report of his having been carried up to heaven. This latter interpretation was probably got up in after times by the plebeians, who thought the patricians capable of every crime that might further their selfish interests, but they forgot that in the ancient legend Romulus is nowhere represented as a tyrant. On the contrary, after the death of T. Tatius, whose rule is really described as tyrannical, the reign of Romulus is said to have become more legal and milder than it had been before. He consulted the senate on all matters and punished the refractory citizens only with fines of cattle, in short, there is no trace in the story of his having ever been an object of hatred with the senate.

The only manner in which we can derive any historical results from national legends if they have any historical basis as they have in almost all cases is to receive them just as they are handed down to us, not altering or modifying them in any way, but looking steadily at what they state as facts as well as at what they teach us by implication. It may indeed happen that not one of the facts stated is of any historical value but we frequently catch a glimpse of the state of things, in regard to the political, social and religious life of the times to which the traditions refer, and this is pre-eminently the case in early

[7] The school of critics here alluded to has not yet quite disappeared and is a matter of the highest importance to the young minds of students to be cautioned against!

Roman history It is, indeed, impossible either to assert or to deny whether Romulus and Remus are historical personages or not, whether Romulus actually did build Rome, or whether he really was the founder of the institutions ascribed to him, but with regard to the questions as to what Rome was before the dawn of her historical period, how she grew out of her cradle and what her political and social institutions were, a great deal of information may be gleaned from the traditions Great assistance may also be derived from the institutions of later times, for their principles remained on the whole the same, and the changes they experienced were only the results of a natural progress and development Proceeding on this principle we offer the following observations, which partly complete and partly illustrate the above mentioned traditions

It was the general belief of the Romans themselves that Rome the name of their city, was not Latin and that its Latin name was kept as a sacred secret [28] There existed on the Palatine hill previous to the time of Romulus a Siculian Pelasgian, or Tyrrhenian town whose name was in all probability Roma [29] This explains the statement that Rome was a Tyrrhenian place as well as the foreign appearance of the name of Roma All accounts agree in placing the original town of Rome on the Palatine hill just as the Aborigines dwelt in a number of villages on the neighbouring heights Its territory was bounded on the Etruscan side by the river Tiber and on the other sides by the territories of the small towns of the Aborigines on the side towards the sea alone it extended to any distance [30] Niebuhr supposes that on what was then called the Agonian hill there existed a town of which the Capitoline might be considered as the citadel It was inhabited by Sabines and bore the name of Quirium, whence its citizens were called Quirites and the Agonian hill afterwards Quirinalis That the Sabines constituted

[28] Macrob Sat i 9 [29] Dionys i 29
[30] Festus s v Pectuscum Palatu

a part of the Roman people, is not only implied in the story about king T Tatius but is evident from the fact that most of the Roman religious ceremonies were Sabine, and were said to have been introduced by T Tatius, or Numa Pompilius [31] It is well attested that the Sabines had pushed their conquests far down the Tiber, and that the towns of Collatia and Regillum belonged to them, though the surrounding places were in the hands of the Latins [32] The story about the rape of the Sabine women seems to indicate, that at one time there existed no right of intermarriage (*connubium*) between the towns on the Palatine and Capitoline, and that the former, which was probably in a state of dependance, raised itself by force of arms to an equality, and even to a preponderance of power The double character of the Roman people may be traced in a variety of circumstances, such as the double Janus, the symbol of the double state,[33] the story about the twin brothers, Romulus and Remus, the double throne of Romulus, the title of the whole body of Roman citizens, populus Romanus Quirites, that is, populus Romanus et Quirites, and in the double number of so many Roman magistrates A third element was introduced into the population of Rome, but it was not placed on an equality with the two others till a much later period.

Romulus the founder of the city, was naturally regarded by posterity as the author of the groundwork of the political constitution of his new state just as his successor, Numa Pompilius, was considered as the founder of most of the religious institutions Romulus is thus said to have divided the whole people into three *tribes* the Ramnes, Tities, and Luceres, each tribe again into ten *curiae* and each curia into *gentes* The original senate, consisting of one hundred members is also said to have been increased by one hundred others at the time when the Sabines were united with the Romans under one state These traditions

[31] Dionys. ii. 50 Liv i. 33 Varro, *de Ling Lat.* vi. 74 ed. Müller

[32] Liv i. 33 ii. 16 Dionys vi. 40

[33] Serv ad Virg Aen. i. 291

require some explanation The two nations, of which the Roman state consisted, are called tribes, the Ramnes and Tities (or Ramnenses and Titienses), the names of which are universally traced by the ancients to their respective kings Romulus and Titus Tatius Along with these two, a third tribe, the Luceres, is mentioned as early as the time of Romulus;[34] but the ancients are not agreed upon the origin of the name Most writers derive it from one Lucumo, an Etruscan ally of Romulus, who is said to have fallen in the war against the Sabines,[35] and others from Lucerus, a king of Arden According to the former opinion the Luceres would be Etruscans and according to the latter, Tyrrhenians, but we believe, with the majority of the ancients, that they were Etruscans and derived their name from a Lucumo, either Caeles Vibenna or an earlier one[36] The existence of an Etruscan element, in the population of Rome, is also well attested by a number of institutions and religious rites, which are expressly said to have been derived from the Etruscans But whatever we may think on this subject, thus much is certain, that for a considerable time the Luceres were in a state of subjection to the other tribes, from which they emerged only by degrees, though the gradual extension of the full rights of citizenship is scarcely perceptible in the historians whose works we possess, except in their accounts of the gradual increase of the number of senators for at the time when the Luceres were incorporated with the Roman state, the number of senators was raised to 300, which number afterwards remained unaltered for many centuries The senators representing the first tribe had for a time, certain privileges in which those of the second did not participate, and when the Luceres were

[34] Liv i 13.

[35] He is perhaps no other than the Etruscan Caeles Vibenna, whose title Lucumo was mistaken for a proper name Caeles Vibenna is said to have settled on the Caelian hill which derived its name from him

[36] Niebuhr infers from another form of the name of the third tribe, *Lucerles* said to occur in Festus (s v Lucerenses) that they were the inhabitants of a place called *Lucer* or *Lucerum* on the Caelian hill and he assumes that they were Latins but the form Lucerles does not occur in Festus nor in any other passage that we know of

admitted, their senators for a long time, were inferior in rank to those of the first two, and were hence called *patres minorum gentium*, whereas those of the two other tribes were designated as *patres majorum gentium*, and gave their votes before the senators of the Luceres

Each of the three tribes was divided, for political purposes, into ten *curiae*, and each curia constituted a body of citizens, united together by certain religious rites and civil duties Each had a separate name, said to have been derived from one of the Sabine women, who brought about the reconciliation between the Romans and Sabines, and the affairs, especially the religious ones, of each curia were managed by an officer called *curio* The thirty curiones formed a college or body of priests, headed by one of their number, who bore the title of *curio maximus*

Each curia contained a number of *gentes* The real nature of the ancient gentes, and their relation to the decads mentioned by Dionysius,[37] are among the most difficult points in early Roman history Dionysius states that each curia was subdivided into ten decads or decurias, and Niebuhr, identifying these decads with the gentes, believes that the thirty curiae, that is, the whole body of Roman citizens, consisted of 300 gentes He further regards the gentes as analogous to the clans of other countries, and with reference to the definition given by Cicero,[38] he maintains that there existed no family affinity between the members of a gens who had only one name in common, and that the gentes were purely political divisions A gens might, accordingly, contain different families as the Cornelia gens, *e g*, contained the Scipios and the Sullae Now it should be observed in the first place, that the decads mentioned by Dionysius do not occur anywhere else, and that, whenever the subdivisions of the curiae are spoken of, we hear only of gentes,

[37] II 7

[38] *Topic* 6 Gentiles sunt, qui inter se eodem nomine sunt Non est satis Qui ab ingenuis oriunda sunt. Neque id quidem satis est Quorum majorum nemo servitutem servivit. Adest etiam nunc Qui capite non sunt diminuti Hoc fortasse satis est

whence we must infer that the decuriae (decuriae), like the decuriones, had nothing to do with the political division of the Roman people, but referred only to the organisation of the army. Secondly, Varro[39] expressly recognises a family affinity among the members of the same gens. The fact of different families appearing in the same gens, in later times, does not prove that the same was also the case originally, considering the great changes that must have taken place by intermarriages, so that, in the end, it became a matter of impossibility for any particular individual to trace his origin to the earliest times, and he was accordingly satisfied with the gentile *name*, which had become the main requisite. Each gens had its sacra privata, which also seems to indicate that it was not a mere political body, like the curiae, else it would, like the latter, have had its sacra publica. The supposition, that the number of gentes was limited to 300, thus seems to fall to the ground. It is irreconcilable also with the fact, that when strangers were admitted among the gentes, as the Julii, Servilii, Quintii, Geganii, and others, they retained their gentile names and formed new gentes, whereas if they had been incorporated with other gentes they would have been obliged to give up their own names, and to take those of the gentes into which they were introduced.

The three tribes and their subdivisions (the curiae and gentes) contained the whole body of Roman citizens, and besides them there existed in the earliest times no one that could be truly called a Roman citizen. They constituted the sovereign people and were the *populus*, *populus Romanus*, *patres* or *patricii*. The plebeians as a distinct order did not exist in those times. But along with those real citizens there occur two other classes of persons, viz., slaves, as in all the states of antiquity, and *clientes*.[40] The latter formed a class of people altogether pecu-

[39] *De Ling. Lat.* v. § 2, p. 393, comp. Fest. s. v. Gentiles.

[40] The name is probably connected with the word *cluere* (κλύειν) to hear or obey.

liar to some parts of Italy, and occurring especially among the Sabines and Etruscans There is no perfect analogy in the whole range of ancient history with these Italian clientes They formed a body of people who had fewer rights than those contained in the curiae and gentes they stood in a relation of strict dependance on the free citizens, not indeed as a body on the body of Roman citizens but as individuals, one or more being attached to a particular gens or family [41] They appear in Roman story from the very earliest times but the question as to their origin can only be answered by a conjecture, being beyond the reach of historical investigation It is, however, probable that they were the original inhabitants of those countries, who being subdued by the new settlers and having lost their landed property continued to live in a state of submission to their new lords, and retained pieces of land for cultivation, which however were the property of the conquerors [42] The nature of this clientela is sufficiently indicated by the term *patronus* (from *pater*) the title of the person to whom a client was attached The relation of the clientela descended from father to son, and involved hereditary rights and duties it was of peculiar sanctity, and analogous to the relation existing between a father and his children nay, it is expressly stated that the clients had higher claims on their patron than his own relatives [43] The duties of the patron, as well as of the client are stated by Dionysius [44] the patron had to expound the law to his clients, to protect their property and interests just as those of his own children, to defend them against any unlawful attacks to represent them in the courts of justice, and in general to afford them every protection both in public and private affairs The client, in return, was obliged to support his patron on many occasions thus he

[41] Dionys. ii. 46 v 40 x 14 Liv ii. 16

[42] It may also be that the clients were strangers who did not belong to any of the three tribes, and who settled at Rome under the protection of certain Roman citizens, who became their patrons

[43] Cato in Gellius, v 13.

[44] Dionys. ii 10

CHAPTER III.

NUMA POMPILIUS AND HIS RELIGIOUS INSTITUTIONS—TULLUS HOSTILIUS

After the disappearance of Romulus, the senate, being desirous of getting the reins of government into its own hands, would not allow a new king to be elected, and for a whole year every senator enjoyed the regal power in rotation under the title of *interrex*. But in the end the people grew tired of this state of things, being more severely oppressed by these many rulers than they had before been by one, and they became vehement in insisting upon the right to elect a sovereign to protect them. The senate yielded, in order not to lose in the end even more than what was now demanded, and they permitted that a king should be elected by the people subject to the approval of the senate. But the Romans and Sabines now began to dispute from which of the two tribes the king should be taken. It was at length agreed that the Romans should choose him out of the Sabines. All concurred in electing the Sabine, Numa Pompilius of Cures, who was famed far and wide for his wisdom and piety, having been a disciple of the Greek sage Pythagoras.[1] When he had consulted the auguries, and assured himself that the gods approved of his election, his first care was turned to

[1] Most ancient writers, as Polybius, Livy, and Dionysius, seeing the chronological impossibility of this statement, since Pythagoras lived nearly two centuries after the time assigned to Numa, endeavour to show that the mistake arose out of a confusion of the philosopher Pythagoras with a later person of the same name. But it should be remembered that the story about Numa is altogether legendary, and as such sets chronology at complete defiance. It may further be observed, that the historical existence of Numa himself is more than doubtful, and that a connection between the king and the Greek philosopher was believed at Rome for many centuries. See Plut. *Numa*, 8, Liv. xl. 29.

relating to the religious affairs of the state, and gave them power to chastise any violation of the laws of religion The augurs also, are said to have been instituted by him it was their duty to explore by augury the will of the gods, for the purpose of guiding the counsels of men Numa himself knew the means of compelling Jupiter to make known his will by lightning or the flight of birds The incantation or charm by which he effected this, he had learned from Faunus and Picus, whom, by the advice of Egeria he enticed and bound in chains He also built numerous temples and altars to the gods

Amid these pious works the reign of Numa glided away in quiet happiness, and without any war or other calamity, for even the neighbouring people, who had before looked upon Rome as though it were an enemy's camp, were so overawed by these pious proceedings, that they did not venture to undertake any thing against a city so completely devoted to the worship of the gods The temple of Janus, which was Numa's work, was closed during the whole of his reign, for peace extended over Rome and all its neighbourhood After a reign of forty three years[3] (from B C 715 to 673) Numa, the favourite of the gods, died full of years[4]

The legend of Numa Pompilius, though not without some highly poetical features, does not seem to have been the theme of an ancient epic he is said indeed to have enjoined that among all the Camenae the highest honours should be paid to Tacita[5] As Romulus had been the son of a god, and in the end became a god himself, so Numa was closely connected with divine beings, his story is as much a poetical fiction as that of Romulus, if not more so, and the number of years assigned to their reigns arose either from numerical speculations of the priests who kept the annals of the kingdom, or from mere caprice or

[3] Polybius (*ap Cic de Re Publ* ii 14) assigned to him a reign of only 39 years, and others make it last 41 years.

[4] Liv i. 18-21, Dionys. ii, 58 76 *Cic de Re Publ* ii 13-15

[5] The Camenae were divinities whose function it was to sing the praise of ancient heroes and kings (Festus, s v Camenae)

are said in some traditions to have been appointed by Romulus [7] That therefore is nothing but a pleasing fiction which referred the establishment of the Roman hierarchy and the ceremonial law such as it existed in later times to one of the semi-divine kings who was encouraged and assisted in his work by the goddess Egeria, for a well informed Roman must have been aware that Numa did not establish any worship that was absolutely new but that he only regulated and reduced to a system that which he found existing among his own subjects and among the neighbouring people The institution of the several colleges of priests with a view to insure the observance of religious duties and the number of the members of each college were closely connected with the number of the tribes and we perceive from these numbers that the institutions of Numa had reference only to two tribes the Ramnes and Tities, the Luceres either not existing at that time or not being taken into consideration in his religious legislation Thus there were four augurs two for each tribe two vestals one for each tribe four pontiffs (not including the pontifex maximus) two for each tribe and twenty fecials or judges of international law that is one for every curia of the first two tribes

The Roman hierarchy although it exercised a most powerful influence upon all matters of public interest yet could never acquire that independent and overwhelming power which was possessed by the priesthood among the Egyptians Chaldæans and other nations of antiquity for the priests did not form a distinct and privileged caste of persons The private worship was left to the care of every head of a family and the public sacra were under the immediate care of the curiones or presidents of the curiae all the Roman magistrates were connected with certain priestly rights and functions and the king himself was the high priest of the nation the pontiffs augurs and other priests again, might at the same time be invested with civil offices in short all the ecclesiastical institutions were most

[7] Plut. *Numa* 7

strong religious feeling of the Romans, and the manner in which religion was connected in some way or other with everything they undertook both in public and private life, greatly contributed to keep the whole political fabric together

The interreign (*interregnum*) which followed after the death of Numa Pompilius was of short duration, the senate and interrex chose Tullus Hostilius, who belonged to the Ramnes, for their king, and his election was approved of by the curiae He is described as unlike his predecessor and even as more warlike and ferocious than Romulus The accounts which have come down to us of his reign seem to partake more of the character of real history than those of his two predecessors, although the fight of the Horatii and Curiatii and the destruction of Alba, are undoubtedly poetical legends and were the themes of poems of which an echo is still perceptible in the narrative of Livy

The city of Alba wholly disappears from the legends as soon as Rome is built and for a period of upwards of eighty years we hear nothing about her, until at the beginning of the reign of Tullus Hostilius a war is said to have been called forth between Rome and Alba by mutual violence The inhabitants of the two little kingdoms had ravaged each other's territories and it so happened that embassies were sent by both parties at the same time to demand reparation Alba was at the time governed by C Cluilius The Roman king who wished for war, and was anxious to have the appearance of justice on his side, detained the Alban ambassadors by feasts and banquets whereas the Roman envoys were ordered to demand satisfaction immediately on their arrival at Alba The atonement was refused as Tullus had anticipated, and war was declared against Alba Both parties made the necessary preparations and the Albans began to march into the Roman territory They encamped in a place not far from Rome and surrounded themselves with a ditch called the *fossa Cluilia* after their king C Cluilius who died in the camp The Albans then appointed Mettius Fuffetius dictator in his place Tullus encouraged by the king's death and eager to attack the

he met his sister, who had been betrothed to one of the Curiatii and as she perceived among the spoils a garment which she had made with her own hands for her beloved she burst out into loud cries and lamentations and cursed her brother Horatius enraged at her conduct on an occasion so glorious for himself and so fortunate for the state ran her through with his sword The king at first hesitated what to do with the man who was at once the murderer of his sister and the saviour of the state but his sense of justice prevailed and he appointed *duumviri perduellionis* to try him Horatius was sentenced to be hanged but he appealed to the people who acquitted him moved as they were by the thought of what he had done for his country, and by the entreaties of his father who justified his conduct [13]

The peace between Rome and Alba however did not last long for the Albans who keenly felt the loss they had sustained and yet despaired of success in an open revolt excited other towns to war with a view of treacherously assisting to defeat Rome and thus to recover their independence An opportunity was soon offered for Fidenae which had been conquered by Romulus revolted and with the assistance of the Veientines expelled the Roman colonists Tullus Hostilius joined by Mettius Fuffetius and the Albans set out against the enemy The armies were drawn up in such a manner that the Romans faced the Veientines and the Albans the Fidenates Mettius who was as cowardly as he was faithless gradually led away his men from the conflict towards the hills and there drew them up in battle array intending to join the party that should be victorious Tullus who saw his conduct and feared lest it should discourage his Romans declared that Mettius acted by his command The Fidenates alarmed by what they heard and dreading an attack of the Albans upon their flanks

[13] The forms of the proceedings at this trial as well as the ceremonies observed in the declaration of the war against Alba (Liv. i. 26 and 24) were in all probability taken by Livy from very ancient documents, the books of the pontiffs and augurs, and are genuine ancient formularies

he assigned to them the Aventine hill At length all the Latins assembled in the neighbourhood of Medullia, and made desperate efforts against their common enemy For some time the victory seemed doubtful but at length Ancus gained it in a hard fought battle and returned to Rome with immense booty Many thousands of Latins were now carried to Rome, where the king assigned to them the districts between the Aventine and Palatine He further incorporated with the city the hill Janiculum as a bulwark against Etruria and built the first wooden bridge (*pons sublicius*) across the Tiber On the Roman side of the river he made the ditch of the Quirites as a protection of those parts of the city which were low and exposed [19] As with the immense increase of the population crimes also became more frequent he built a fearful prison in the heart of the city on the side of the hill above the forum [20] Ancus however not only extended improved and secured the city itself but increased the Roman territory in various directions thus he took a district from the Veientines and extended his kingdom as far as the sea coast At the mouth of the Tiber he built the town of Ostia the most ancient Roman colony and the port of Rome and in its neighbourhood salt works were established from which the state derived a revenue (*vectigal*) He reigned for a period of twenty four years (from B C 641 to 617) and was not inferior to any of his predecessors either in the arts of peace or of war

The reigns of Tullus Hostilius and Ancus Marcius are of the greatest importance in Roman history for the population of the Latin towns conquered by these kings and carried to Rome formed the elements of the plebeian order to which Rome owes her greatness and power, and to whose struggles for freedom and independence Roman history owes its peculiar charm and

who e great and peculiar merit it is, to have explained the true nature of the plebeian estate, and its relation to the patricians The first plebeians, then, we repeat it, consisted of the conquered Albans and other Latin towns, who after their reduction became incorporated with the Roman state They became Romans, but not Roman citizens in the proper sense of the word Being excluded from the tribes and curiae, they had no right of voting in the assembly of the populus, could take no part in the manage ment of public affairs were not eligible to any magistracy, and had no right of contracting legal marriages (*i e*, they had no *connubium*) with the citizens contained in the tribes and curiae These constituted the sovereign people, while the plebeians were indeed free and personally independent, but politically inferior to the populus The Romans contained in the three tribes bence forth form a class of nobles under the name of *patres patricii* or *populus*, in contradistinction from the plebs The plebeians whose large numbers constituted the principal part of the Roman armies and who had to shed their blood for their new country were in no way inferior to the Romans they were Latins like the Ramnes the old st and noblest tribe of the Romans but they had had the misfortune to be conquered All this the plebeians felt, and as oppre sion and tyranny on the part of the patricians gradually roused the oppressed to a contest with their oppres ors which lasted for centuries, they present one of the noblest spectacles in the history of mankind till in the end their perseverance succeeded in placing them on a footing of perfect equality with the patricians

The Aventine was at all times regarded as the peculiar habitation of the plebeians, and as such it was not included in the pomoerium King Ancus Marcius was revered by the plebeians as the founder of their estate, and was believed to have framed their original laws just as tho e of the three patrician tribes were regarded as the work of Romulus He is even said to have distributed the con quered land which had become public domain

interest When we read in Livy that the population of Alba and the other Latin towns conquered by Ancus Marcius were transplanted to Rome we cannot compare such a transplantation with those which we read of in the history of Persia For the districts assigned to them at Rome would have been far too small to contain the immense number of new settlers The Italian law with regard to conquered land was this the territory of a conquered enemy became the property of the Roman state that is *ager publicus* One portion of it was used for the purpose of establishing colonies another was given back to the original proprietors and a third was left unoccupied to be either parcelled out among the Roman citizens or left as a precarious tenure to those who chose to cultivate it and pay a certain small rent for it to the state Now if all the Latins and Albans had been transplanted to Rome most of them would have found it impossible at such a distance to cultivate the farms that were given them by the state We therefore conceive that the transplantation of these large numbers of Latins means only that the Romans allowed the conquered people to take up their abode if they chose to do so on the Caelian hill the Aventine and the valley between the Aventine and Palatine By far the greater majority unquestionably did not remove to Rome but remained on their farms We have seen above that the noble Alban gentes were placed on an equality with the Roman gentes and added to them but the great mass of the Latins although they were incorporated with the Roman state and thus became Romans yet formed a body quite distinct from the *populus* (the Romans contained in the three tribes and thirty curiae) and were designated by the name *plebs* or *plebes* Our authorities Livy and Dionysius who were completely misguided by the meaning attached *to the term plebs in their own days conceived the plebeians* to have been a low populace which had been separated even by Romulus from the better part of the community But this with many other errors which had been established in Roman history has been triumphantly and for ever refuted by Niebuhr

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among the people [21] and the plebeians of later times seem to have looked upon him as the first that ever distributed public land among the members of their order Hence Ancus Marcius was regarded by them as the *good old king*,[22] while Virgil, in his partiality for the patricians, charges him with having courted popular favour [23]

[21] Cic *de Re Publ* ii 18 [22] Ennius, *Annal.* iii. p 107, ed Columna.
[23] Virg *Æn* vi 806 &c

CHAPTER IV

L. TARQUINIUS PRISCUS.—SERVIUS TULLIUS, AND HIS CONSTITUTION

THE period of Roman history which begins with the reign of Tarquinius Priscus shows us a state of things very different from what it was under the preceding kings the little state which under Ancus Marcius embraced only a very small tract of country in the immediate neighbourhood of Rome now appears as a powerful monarchy ruling far and wide and with the means of constructing architectural works which in grandeur and durability rival those of the Egyptian Pharaohs Now if the state under Ancus Marcius really was as small and insignificant as it is described by our authorities a long period of growth and development must have followed before it could have become what it appears to have been under Tarquinius Priscus But of such a period of growth and development there is no trace in the ancient historians they represent Tarquinius as the immediate successor of Ancus Marcius and we must therefore either suppose that they passed over that period in silence for want of materials to fill it up or we must look for the cause of the inconsistency in the nature of the legendary traditions by means of which the history of those early ages was handed down to posterity Poetical legends are not bound to strict historical completeness they may leave unnoticed a whole series of events in their proper place, merely because those events present nothing that is capable of poetical embellishment and hence when we afterwards behold a state of things which has become completely altered without being informed by what means it was brought about we are naturally *surprised until we remember the omission*

or gap that may exist in the legends Thus it may have been that the reign of Tullus Hostilius, and still more so that of Ancus Marcius was much richer in great events than it appears from the narratives of Livy and Dionysius This view of the case derives considerable support from the fact that the traditions concerning the latter part of Tullus Hostilius's reign and the whole of that of Ancus are extremely meagre and present scarcely any poetical features We therefore infer either that the events of that period were *not the themes of poems or that if they were*, their substance as well as their form is lost and thus it is that when we enter upon the history of Tarquinius Priscus which, down to the battle of Lake Regillus in B C 499, is full of poetry we find ourselves transported, as it were into a new world.

The lay of Tarquinius Priscus runs as follows —In the reign of Ancus Marcius an Etruscan Lucumo [1] a wealthy enterprising and ambitious man a son of Demaratus of Corinth emigrated from the Etruscan town of Tarquinii to Rome hoping there to acquire honours and distinction for being a foreigner every avenue to honour was closed against him at Tarquinii Demaratus the father was a member of the oligarchic family of the Bacchiadae at Corinth but during the struggles with the democratic party headed by Cypselus being obliged like many others to quit his country he had taken up his residence at Tarquinii in Etruria, where as a merchant he had previously formed connexions of friendship He is said to have been accompanied by celebrated Greek artists [2] and to have taught the Etruscans alphabetical writing [3] He married an Etruscan woman, who bore him two sons Lucumo and Arruns Lucumo survived his father and inherited all his large property Arruns died before his father leaving behind him a son called Egerius

[1] Lucumo is commonly regarded by the ancient historians as a proper name though it was in reality only a title

[2] Plin *Hist Nat* xxxv 5 43

[3] One tradition even represents Demaratus as king of Tarquinii Varro ap Serv ad Virg *Æn* x 203

and Tarquinius, who carried away great booty, celebrated more splendid games than any of his predecessors had ever done He marked out the space of the Circus Maximus, and instituted the Great or Roman games (*ludi magni* or *Romani*), which were afterwards celebrated every year He further distributed the places around the forum among those who were inclined to surround it with porticoes, stalls, or booths, and he even formed the plan of inclosing the whole city with a stone wall But this scheme was prevented by a war with the Sabines, who suddenly crossed the Anio, and invaded his kingdom After having driven them back to their camp, Tarquinius increased the number of his cavalry, and then began the war afresh By the bravery of his army, no less than by stratagems, he gained a brilliant victory over the Sabines, great numbers of whom perished in the Anio He then pursued his enemies into their own country, and when they were beaten a second time, they sued for peace Collatia and all its territory was taken from them, and Tarquinius returning to Rome in triumph, built the Temple of Jupiter on the Capitol, which he had vowed during the battle[1] His victory in this war is ascribed to his having doubled the number of his cavalry, in conformity with which measure, he wished also to double the number of the centuries of equites,[2] and to name the three new centuries after himself and his friends Attus Navius, the most famous augur of the time, opposed the plan, declaring that no change of the kind could be made without the sanction of the gods Tarquinius who appears to have had no great regard for the prophetic powers of his opponent, and wanted either to test his powers or to put him to shame, demanded of the augur to discover whether what he was thinking of at the moment was fea

[1] Some attribute the building of this temple to Tarquinius Superbus.

[2] Romulus is said to have established three centuries of equites, the Ramnenses, Tatienses, and Luceres, each consisting of 100 men Tullus Hostilius doubled the number of equites contained in each century, leaving however their number (three) unchanged so that Tarquinius found the three equestrian centuries still existing but each consisting of 200 equites.

sible or not Attus Navius, after consulting the auguries, answered that the king's thoughts were feasible, and Tarquinius held out to him a whetstone and a razor, requesting him to split the stone with the razor, which the augur did, to the amazement of all who witnessed it This proof of the truth of augury, and the power of his opponent, had such an influence upon the king, that he abandoned his scheme, and henceforth undertook nothing without consulting the will of the gods by augury He was thus obliged to content himself with doubling the number of equites contained in the three equestrian centuries, which now accordingly contained 1200 equites The 600 new equites were called *posteriores* or *secundi*, and the 600 old ones *priores* or *primi*

After the war with the Sabines, Tarquinius was involved in another with the Latins, who, as usual, were not agreed among themselves, and he was thus enabled to conquer their towns one after another In this manner he subdued all Latium, and destroyed or reduced to submission the towns of Cornicultum, Ficulea, Cameria, Crustumerium, Ameriola, Medullia and Nomentum Peace was then concluded with the Latins

Thus is all that Livy relates of the military engagements of Tarquinius, but Dionysius and Cicero[6] also speak of a war with the Aequians, who were already a most powerful people but were subdued by Tarquinius[7] Dionysius further relates that after the peace with the Sabines, the twelve Etruscan cities south of the Apennines united their forces against Rome, that after a defeat, which they sustained at Eretum they submitted, and recognised Tarquinius as their sovereign, and that they did homage to him by presenting him with the ensigns of royalty, which he displayed in his triumph over them If we put together the results of his wars, Tarquinius in the evening of his days must have been the acknowledged sovereign of the Sabines, Latins, and Etruscans[8] This great extent of the kingdom of Rome is not mentioned

[6] *De Re Publ.* ii 20

[7] Compare Strab v p. 231 Livy, i. 55 ascribes the war against the Aequians to the second Tarquinius.

[8] Dionys iii. 57 Florus, i 5

either by Livy or Cicero, but whatever we may think of these conquests, thus much is certain, that, under Tarquinius Priscus, the power of Rome was far greater than it had ever been before.

What has made the name of Tarquinius Priscus still more illustrious than his wars and conquests are the great works which he designed and executed to increase the greatness and splendour of the city. After the conquest of Latium he is said to have continued the building of the stone walls, which had been interrupted by the Sabine war, and he began to fortify those parts which were not protected by nature.[9] He drained the lower portions of the city about the forum, and the other valleys, which until then had been swamps, by sewers which led the waters into the Tiber. Some of the works and exploits of this king are ascribed in the traditions to the second Tarquinius, but all agree in stating that the great sewer (*cloaca maxima*), which still excites the wonder and astonishment of the beholder, is his work.[10] As this and similar structures could never have been executed without oppressive taskwork, he provided in order to cheer his people, that they should be amused with the celebration of splendid games.

On the whole it may be observed that tradition represents Tarquinius as having been just as ambitious, and as fond of the display of splendour, after his accession as he had been before; hence the rites of religion which had been plain and simple were under him clothed with splendour, bloody sacrifices were introduced, and it was in his reign that the Romans first represented their gods in human forms.

With regard to his constitutional changes, Livy simply states that he added one hundred to the number of senators, and that the hundred new ones were called the *patres minorum gentium*,[11] to distinguish them from the old senators, who were now called *patres majorum gentium*.[12] Some writers even allude to his having intended to make a change in the constitution of the three ancient tribes.[13]

Although the people must have sighed under the yoke of Tarquinius Priscus, yet in after times they honoured and celebrated him as one of the greatest and most glorious sovereigns, and it became customary to impute the sufferings inflicted upon the people to his detested son, Tarquinius Superbus. Nay, even his wife, Cana Caecilia (for so she is called in some traditions, instead of Tanaquil) was reverenced as a beneficent enchantress, and a model of ancient domestic virtue. According to tradition, Tarquinius had reigned 38 years (from B.C. 616 to 570) when his glorious career was terminated by assassination. The sons of Ancus Marcius had long wished for an opportunity of taking vengeance on the usurper, and as they had reason to fear lest he should secure the succession to his favourite Servius Tullius, his son-in-law, they contrived to lure two sturdy shepherds who, pretending to have a quarrel between them, gained access to the king that he might decide between them, and gave him a deadly wound.

It has been proved by modern critics, that the story of Tarquinius being a son of Demaratus a contemporary of Cypselus, is irreconcilable with chronology, for Tarquinius ought to have been born about fifty years later than the story implies. The tradition of Demaratus having introduced alphabetical writing among the Etruscans is of the same kind as that of Evander who is said to

[11] Cicero *de Re Publ.* ii. 20 says that he doubled the number of senators.

[12] Dionysius, iii. 67 states that the 100 new senators were chosen from among the plebeians who had been raised to the rank of patricians, and that they were added to the old senate of 200 members.

[13] Festus *s. v.* Navia, p. 169, ed. Müller.

have taught the Latins the art of writing, for both only mean to represent the introduction of the alphabet as belonging to a very early period All traditions about Tarquinius point to Etruria as the country from which he came to Rome, but still they contain in themselves strong reasons for rejecting the Etruscan origin of the king The Tarquinii were not, as the story would lead us to believe a mere family in our sense of the word but a whole gens[14] which was banished together with the last king There are further several traces which may lead us to the belief that this gens was of Latin origin for example, the surname *Priscus* which also occurs among the Servilii who were transplanted to Rome from Alba but we must at all events suppose that Tarquinius belonged to one of the gentes of the Luceres The legend which called the wife of Tarquinius Gaia Caecilia was unquestionably older than the one which calls her Tanaquil, and Caecilia seems to be connected with Caecilius, the founder of Praeneste[15] But it is impossible to say in what manner the story about the Etruscan origin of the Tarquinii may have arisen The conquest of Etruria which Dionysius ascribes to Tarquinius is more than doubtful, although the fact that at one time there was a king at Rome who ruled over all Etruria may not be without some historical foundation, but whether Rome conquered Etruria, or whether an Etruscan prince fixed his residence at Rome and from thence ruled over Etruria, Latium, and the Sabines are questions which history does not answer

The plebeians who had existed in the Roman state ever since the time of Tullus Hostilius and had been increased in the reign of Ancus Marcius had been left by those kings without any internal organisation of their body and without any exact definition of their relation to the patricians But Tarquinius seems to have formed a plan for remedying these evils The three centuries of equites which he found existing on his accession contained 600 men, and when he made the attempt to

[14] Liv. i. 9 Cic. *de Re Publ.* ii. Rediens. 25 31 Varro ap. Nonium s. v. [15] Serv. *ad Virg. Aen.* vii. 681

double the number of centuries he undoubtedly contemplated at the same time to add three new tribes to the ancient Ramnes, Titles and Luceres, and to form them out of the plebeians, but this plan being thwarted by the opposition of the patricians, who availed themselves of the influence of the augur Attus Navius [16] the king was obliged to content himself with raising the number of the equites contained in the three centuries to 1200 so that each century contained two hundred *priores* and two hundred *posteriores* or *secundi* [17] These 600 new equites were taken from among the plebeians whom the king raised to the rank of patricians The plebeians thus raised were of course incorporated with the three ancient tribes, without the number of the tribes themselves being altered and it was out of the same body of new patricians, called *gentes minores* that the king elected the hundred new senators whence they are called the *patres minorum gentium* The increase of the number of senators is interpreted by Niebuhr to mean that Tarquinius raised the Luceres who had until then been in a state of submission to an equality with the two other tribes and that accordingly he elected one hundred of them into the senate But in the first place it is scarcely credible that the privilege of becoming members of the senate should have been withheld so long from the third tribe and in the second it is attested by the express testimony of Dionysius that the hundred new senators were taken from among the plebeians who had been raised to the rank of patricians and consequently could not be Luceres But if, on the one hand the three tribes were already represented in the senate each by one hundred members it is difficult to see how Tarquinius could have added one hundred others without going beyond the number of three hundred which henceforth always appears as the regular number [18] This difficulty

[16] Dionys iii 71 &c Festus s v Navia, p 169 ed Müller

[17] The different statements in Livy i 36 and Cicero *de Re Publ* ii 20, probably arise from corrupt readings

[18] Liv i 1 Dionys v 13 Festus s v qui patres qui conscripti p 254 ed Müller

can only be solved by the supposition either that so many of the old patrician families had become extinct that they could no longer furnish three hundred senators or that the three tribes up to the time of Tarquinius had never been represented in the senate by one hundred members each but only by two hundred for all the three tribes[19] But in whatever manner we may endeavour to explain these difficulties and contradictory statements this much is firmly established that for several centuries after the time of Tarquinius Priscus the regular number of senators was three hundred

The plan of Tarquinius to put the plebeians in some manner on an equality with the patricians being thwarted by the latter he was obliged to leave them in the same position as he had found them all that he was able to accomplish was that he raised the most illustrious among them to the rank of patricians The carrying out of his grand scheme at least to some extent was reserved for his successor

The traditions of the early life and death of Servius Tullius the sixth king of Rome is as marvellous as anything in Roman history and in reality nothing more than a poetical lay But the political changes which he is said to have introduced after his accession are of a genuine historical character as is proved by their more or less modified continuance through many centuries The institutions themselves therefore are as certain as they well can be the only point that remains doubtful is whether they really originated with the one king Servius Tullius to whom the gratitude of the later plebeians ascribed the foundation of everything which gave them that position in the state which they desired and deserved

[19] They who conceive that until the time of Tarquinius, the Luceres were not represented in the senate might say that Tarquinius increased the number of senators by 100 while those who conceive that the new patricians were a large body of men equal in number to the old patricians, might with Cicero say that Tarquinius doubled the number of senators just as he doubled the number of equites contained in the three centuries.

Ocrisia, the mother of Servius Tullius, is said to have been a handmaid of Tanaquil, the wife of Tarquinius Priscus, and to have been one of the captives taken at Ocriculum One day, as she was bringing some offering to the household god, she saw the god himself appear in the fire on the hearth Tanaquil, on being informed of the vision, ordered her to dress herself as a bride, and to shut herself up in the chapel There she became the mother of Servius Tullius his father was, according to some, the household god, and according to others, Vulcan [a] That the child was destined one day to occupy a high position was indicated even in his infancy, for once, as he was sleeping in his cradle, his head was seen girt with flames All those who were present were struck with terror at what they witnessed Some brought water, to extinguish the fire, but Tanaquil forbade it, for she knew that the fire was the spirit of the child's father, and foresaw that he was called to great things She also ordered the child not to be moved till he woke of his own accord, and when at last he did wake, the flames vanished The queen henceforth educated him as her own child, and great hopes were entertained of him. When he had grown up to manhood, Tarquinius gave

[a] Ovid *Fast* vi 625, &c., Dionys iv 2 Other traditions stated that his mother was a native of Tarquinii, his father one of the clients of king Tarquinius and he himself in his childhood a slave (Cic *de Re Publ* ii 21) A third account, which however is only a rationalistic interpretation of the genuine old legend given in the text, and is preferred by Livy (i 39) states that his father, likewise called Servius Tullius, was an illustrious citizen of Corniculum, who fell in battle, when his native place was taken leaving his wife in a state of pregnancy She was carried to Rome like the other captives, but was not allowed to perform any degrading or menial services and in the house of Tarquinius Priscus she became the mother of Servius Tullius. We can not leave unnoticed a tradition which was derived by the emperor Claudius from Etruscan sources (see the fragments of the oration of Claudius in Oberlin's Tacitus, vol iv p 806), although it has little historical value Servius Tullius is there called the most faithful companion of Caeles Vibenna, an Etruscan condottiere, with whom he shared all his fortunes With the remnants of his friends troops he went to Rome, took possession of mount Caelius, changed his Etruscan name Mastarna into the Roman Servius Tullius, and was in the end elected king of Rome All that we can derive from this story is that perhaps at one time an Etruscan chieftain established himself as king at Rome

him his own daughter in marriage and Servius remained the favourite of gods and men Even in more advanced life he never ceased to hold communion with the higher powers the goddess Fortune who carried him through all the various stages of life from the lowest to the highest loved and visited him and he built a temple to her placing in it his own statue which remained uninjured when the temple itself was consumed by fire

Servius Tullius assisted his father in law both in council and war, and none of the young Romans surpassed him in strength and courage When Tarquinius became old, Servius lightened the yoke which pressed on his subjects and the great popularity which he thus acquired with the people excited the fears of the sons of Ancus lest he should be elected to the throne which they claimed as their lawful inheritance The result of their fear was the assassination of Tarquinius Tanaquil however kept the king's death secret and in order to appease the excited multitude, she announced that his wound was not dangerous but that for the present he had appointed Servius to govern in his stead Servius accordingly performed the functions of king and after the lapse of some time when the death of Tarquinius became known he was instigated by the queen openly to come forward as king he was thus the first king that reigned at Rome without having been elected by the senate and sanctioned by the curiae Afterwards however the curiae at his own request, invested him with the *imperium*[1] In order that the sons of his predecessor Lucius and Aruns Tarquinius might not turn against him as those of Ancus Marcius[2] had done against Tarquinius he gave them his two daughters in marriage, but this precaution far from averting the danger he feared, rendered his fate only more tragic and horrible

The reign of Servius Tullius like that of Numa, is not celebrated for great military achievements Livy speaks of a war with

[1] Cicero *de Re Publ.* ii. 21 Dionys. iv 1 Liv i 46

[2] After the death of Tarquinius, the sons of Ancus are said to have quitted Rome and to have gone to Suessa Pometia into exile

Veii and other Etruscan cities, in which the king was as brave as he was successful, and put to flight a large army, but the historian gives us no details Dionysius, on the other hand, mentions victories over the whole Etruscan nation, which is said to have revolted after the death of Tarquinius Priscus, but was again reduced to submission [23] The reign of Servius however, is of the highest importance in the history of the Roman constitution, for his great deeds were laws, and as tradition called Numa the author or regulator of religious worship, so Servius was regarded as the founder of all civil rights and institutions He first of all carried out the plan of Tarquinius, of completing the city of Rome, by incorporating with it the Quirinal, Viminal, and Esquiline hills, on the last of which he himself took up his residence, and by surrounding the whole of the city with a stone wall, called after him the wall of Servius Tullius We shall defer entering into an examination of the constitutional changes introduced by this king, until we have completed his legendary history He is said to have paid the debts of those who were reduced to poverty out of his private purse, to have redeemed those who had pledged their labour for the money they had borrowed, and lastly, to have assigned to the plebeians allotments of land out of the territories that had been conquered in war The Latins were leagued with the Romans by treaty and Servius Tullius prevailed upon them, in common with the Romans, to build a temple to Diana on the Aventine the chief abode of the Latins who had lately become citizens of Rome This was a tacit acknowledgment, on the part of the Latins, that Rome was the head of their confederacy The Sabines too seem to have joined in this common worship as we must infer from the story of the Sabine and his bull A Sabine yeoman it is said had a bull of prodigious size and great beauty born among his cattle It was announced by the soothsayers, that whoever should sacrifice the animal to Diana on the Aventine would raise his nation to rule over its confederates A report of this prophecy reached

[23] Liv i 42 Cicero, *De Re Publ.* ii 21 Dionys iv 12, 27

portable to the diabolical couple Tullia incited L Tarquinius by day and by night to cut short the life of her father, and place himself upon the throne The crimes already committed made him as is usually the case, little concerned about committing another He began courting the favour of the patricians, especially of the minor gentes by reminding them of the benefits which his father had conferred upon them But suddenly something happened which seemed to deprive the criminals of the object of their crime for it was reported that Servius Tullius to complete his legislation intended to resign the royal dignity and to establish the consular form of government [16] The patricians also were alarmed at the prospect of such a change, for they had reason to fear lest the hateful laws of the king should be confirmed for ever if consuls were to be appointed and they therefore willingly joined in the conspiracy of L Tarquinius When the whole plan was ripe Tarquinius appeared in the senate with all the ensigns of royalty and heaped all possible obloquy and calumnies upon the aged king As the report of the seditious commotion soon reached the king's ears he hastened to the senate house and standing in the door way rebuked Tarquinius as a seditious traitor but the latter treated the king with insults and contempt and as the friends of each party were preparing for violence he seized the king and threw him down the steps of the senate-house and then returned to his associates in the senate Servius Tullius who was bleeding profusely was picked up and led away by some of his faithful servants But before he reached his dwelling he was overtaken by the emissaries whom Tarquinius had sent after him and was murdered in the street His body was left weltering in its blood Tullia at whose instigation this horrid deed had been committed was too impatient to wait at home for the tidings of the result of her husband's doings on that day Through the midst of the crowd she drove to the senate house and was the first to salute her husband as king but he ordered her to get out of the tumult and return home

[16] Liv 48 Dionys iv 40 Plutarch *De Fort Rom* p 323 d

Servius, which was connected with *servus* and *servire* and we must observe in general that the history of Servius Tullius, the most remarkable among the Roman kings whose personal existence is sufficiently established is quite as mythical as that of Romulus or Numa The genuine Roman tradition about his descent leads us to the belief that he was a Latin, and probably belonged to a family which had been incorporated with the Roman curiae in the reign of Tarquinius Priscus His Etruscan origin would be irreconcilable with the whole character of the political institutions ascribed to him

The statement that Servius Tullius completed the building of the city, and for the sake of safety surrounded it with a wall embracing seven distinct districts commonly called hills, is established beyond a doubt the districts he thus inclosed and fortified are to us a proof of his having formed a correct notion of the destiny of the city

But what makes the reign of Servius Tullius more memorable than anything else and therefore deserves our special attention is the new constitution which he gave to his kingdom and more especially the arrangements he made for improving the condition of the plebeians His great object was to unite on principles of justice and equity the two bodies of the patricians and plebeians into one great and powerful nation We remarked above that Tarquinius Priscus attempted to remedy the evils arising out of the separation of the Romans into two classes of citizens one of which had to bear its share in all the public burdens and duties, while it was excluded not only from all honours and advantages, but from exercising any influence whatever upon the government These latter citizens were in fact treated as aliens and were without any internal organisation of their body no laws in fine, existed to regulate their relation to the ruling class or patricians Tarquinius had raised some of them to an equality with the patricians, but the great mass of the plebeians still continued in their undefined and precarious position until Servius Tullius with as much wisdom as boldness set about the task It is a remarkable circumstance that we do not hear of any opposition

trade and manufactures and were at all times thought less honourable than the country tribes The civil relations between the two estates also occupied the king's attention and he regulated them by a number of laws which he caused to be carried in the assembly of the curiæ

Hitherto birth and descent alone had constituted any legal distinction between Roman citizens, and there was accordingly no other division except that into patricians or nobles and plebeians But Servius like Solon established a timocracy, that is he made property the standard to determine the rights and duties of every citizen He accordingly instituted a census for the purpose of ascertaining the property of every citizen, both patrician and plebeian and as property is a fluctuating thing he ordained that a census should be held every five years which period was called a *lustrum* [32] In this census the whole people was conceived of as an army (*exercitus* or *classis*) and as consisting of two parts the infantry and cavalry The part which formed the infantry (*pedites*) were divided according to the amount of their property into six classes an institution which with some modifications continued down to the end of the republic The class to which a citizen belonged determined the amount of tribute he had to pay for purposes of war his position in the army and the kind of armour with which he had to equip himself For the purpose of voting in the great assembly each class was divided into a number of *centuriae* or *suffragia* each of which had one vote and one half of the number of the centuriae of each class consisted of the elder persons (*seniores*) while the other half contained the younger ones (*juniores*) The first class contained all persons whose property amounted to at least 100 000 ases (100 attic minae or about 320*l* of our money) the second those who had at least 75 000 ases (75 attic minae or about 240*l*) the third those who possessed at least 50 000 ases (50 attic minae or about 160*l*) the fourth those who had at least

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(*comitia curiata*), which of course consisted only of patricians, the other of the thirty local tribes (*comitia tributa*) in which plebeians only took part, but along with these Servius Tullius instituted the great national assembly of the centuries (*comitia centuriata*), which met in the Campus Martius and in which patricians and plebeians met on a footing of equality, for there the importance of every citizen was determined by no other standard than that of property and age For the purpose of voting in that assembly, each class was divided into a certain number of centuries, each of which counted as one vote The first class was divided into eighty centuries or suffrages, that is, forty centuries of the seniores, and forty of the juniores the second, third and fourth classes were divided each into twenty centuries, ten of the seniores, and ten of the juniores the fifth class had thirty centuries, fifteen of the seniores and fifteen of the juniores Hence, the total number of the centuries of the five classes was one hundred and seventy of which the first class alone had eighty, while the four others together had no more than ninety, so that wealth had a decided advantage in these assemblies Besides the one hundred and seventy centuries of the classes, Servius instituted five others which did not belong to the classes but voted between them They were, two centuries of the *fabri* (smiths and carpenters) which, according to Livy, voted after the centuries of the first class and according to Dionysius after those of the second class, two centuries of the *cornicines* and *tubicines* (hornists and trumpeters), which, according to Livy voted after the fifth and according to Dionysius after the fourth class and lastly all those persons whose property did not come up to the minimum of the fifth class thus all who belonged to the sixth class formed only one century, and accordingly had only one vote The five additional centuries were not divided like those of the classes into seniores and juniores, but the century of the sixth class appears to have consisted of three sub divisions viz the *accensi velati* the *proletarii* and *capite censi* according to the amount of their property the

purchasing a war horse (*equus publicus*), and an additional annual sum for its maintenance Thus annual sum was levied upon orphans and widows, who were otherwise exempt from the tribute The sum total of all the centuries in the Servian constitution was thus 193, so that 97 formed a majority of votes in the assembly Now, considering that the equites gave their votes first, and next the seniores and juniores of the first class, it is evident that a great preponderance of power was placed in the hands of the wealthiest Romans, for if the eighteen equestrian centuries and the eighty centuries of the first class were agreed upon any point under discussion, the question was decided at once and there was no necessity for putting it to the vote of the other centuries The following table will show at a glance the census of each class, the order of voting, the number of votes (*centuriae* or *suffragia*) assigned to each, and the slight differences which occur in the accounts of the two principal historians Livy and Dionysius

Tabular View of the Centuries of the Classes and of the Equites, according to the SERVIAN *constitution*

Livy		*Dionysius*	
EQUITES Centuriae	18	EQUITES Centuriae	18
I. CLASS. Census 100,000 ases		I CLASS Census 100 minae	
Centuriae seniorum	40	Centuriae seniorum	40
Centuriae juniorum	40	Centuriae juniorum	40
Centuriae fabrum	2	II CLASS. Census 75 minae	
II CLASS Census 75,000 ases		Centuriae seniorum	10
Centuriae seniorum	10	Centuriae juniorum	10
Centuriae juniorum	10	Centuriae fabrum	2
III CLASS. Census 50,000 ases		III CLASS Census 50 minae	
Centuriae seniorum	10	Centuriae seniorum	10
Centuriae juniorum	10	Centuriae juniorum	10
IV CLASS. Census 25,000 ases		IV CLASS. Census 25 minae	
Centuriae seniorum	10	Centuriae seniorum	10
Centuriae juniorum	10	Centuriae juniorum	10
V CLASS. Census 11,000 ases.		Centuriae tubic & cornic	2
Centuriae seniorum	15	V CLASS Census 12½ minae	
Centuriae juniorum	15	Centuriae seniorum	15
Centuriae accens., cornicinum, tubicinum	3	Centuriae juniorum	15
Centuria capite censorum	1	VI CLASS.	
		Centuria capite censorum	1
Sum total of the centuriae	194	Sum total of the centuriae	193

bunes of the people with the extensive powers of which we find them possessed in aftertimes appears to be unfounded and to have arisen from the grateful disposition of the plebeians towards the king whom they loved to regard as the founder of all their great institutions

means nothing else than that they were elected in the assembly of the centuries and Niebuhr's attempt to show that L. Junius Brutus, one of the first consuls actually was a plebeian is not very successful.

CHAPTER V

L. TARQUINIUS SUPERBUS—BANISHMENT OF THE KING AND HIS FAMILY—RETROSPECTIVE VIEW OF THE ROMAN CONSTITUTION UNDER THE KINGS, AND OF THE CONDITION OF THE PEOPLE.

THERE can be no doubt that the hatred of the kingly form of government, which was so deeply rooted in the hearts of the republican Romans, though it may have arisen from the arbitrary and tyrannical rule of Tarquinius Superbus, yet contributed, in its turn, not a little to blacken his character in history, and that no small part of the odium attaching to his name must be set down to the love of exaggeration. Tarquinius Superbus was unquestionably a general of great talent, and the splendour and magnificence of Rome were advanced by him more than by any of his predecessors.

After the murder of Servius Tullius, L. Tarquinius Superbus ascended the throne, without either being elected by the senate and people or sanctioned by the curiae. In the revolution to which he owed his elevation, the rights and privileges conferred upon the plebeians by Servius were abolished. The people were so severely oppressed, kept so much to hard work in erecting the king's magnificent buildings, and abandoned so much to the caprices of the tyrant and the patricians, that numbers of them made away with themselves, to check which the king is said to have ordered their dead bodies to be nailed to the cross.[1] It was however not the plebeians alone that had to suffer: many of the old patricians were put to death or sent into exile probably because they had

[1] Plin. *Hist. Nat.* xxxvi. 24., cited by Tarquinius Priscus. Sect. § 2. Pliny erroneously attributes this to Tarquinius Superbus. Liv. *Hist.* xl. 605.

not been as zealous in support of his usurpation as those patricians who had of late been raised to their rank by his father He surrounded himself with a body guard for the purpose of securing his usurped power, and after being thus strengthened he took the whole administration of justice into his own hands many senators were put to death, others were sent into exile and their property was confiscated by the king The number of senators was thus greatly reduced, and no new ones were elected to fill the vacant places nay, he never condescended even to assemble the senate, or to consult it upon any matter taking upon himself the decision of all questions respecting which it had formerly been customary to ask the opinion of the senate

Tarquinius Superbus like many other tyrants who about the same time ruled in the cities of Greece, was no less bold and warlike than fond of splendour and magnificence All Latium was obliged to bow before the majesty of Rome and to recognise her as the head of the Latin confederacy According to Livy and Dionysius[1] Latium was reduced to submission by persuasion by the personal influence of the tyrant upon the leading men among the Latins and by the family connections he established with them[2] while men like Turnus Herdonius of Aricia who ventured to oppose the king s schemes were treated as malefactors and sentenced to death Cicero[3] on the other hand speaks of all Latium having been conquered by force of arms But however this may have been the Roman king hence forth sacrificed the bull at the annual festival of all the Latins (*feriae Latinae*) on the Alban mount in the front of the temple of Jupiter Latiaris and on behalf of all the Latin towns each of which received a portion of the victim s flesh[4] In order that in war the Latins should not have any separate commanders and

[1] Liv i 49 Dionys iv 45 &c

[2] Thus he is said to have given his daughter in marriage to Octavius Mamilius of Tusculum

[3] *De Re Publ* i 24

[4] Some ruins of this common sanctuary of the Latins are still visible on the hill which now bears the name of *Monte Cavo*

standards, the king composed the maniples in the Roman army of both Romans and Latins The league was also joined by the Hernicans, and the Volscian towns of Ecetra and Antium, but their cohorts were kept apart from the Roman legions

The next thing which engaged his attention was the war against the Volscians Suessa Pometia, a wealthy Volscian town, with a most fertile and luxurious domain, was besieged and taken. The king made immense booty, and the vast sum of money produced by its sale enabled him to build the magnificent temple of Jupiter on the Capitoline hill, which his father had vowed in the Sabine war[6] But the money thus raised was not sufficient to cover the expenses, and the people were burthened with heavy taxes and compelled to hard task work All the gods, to whom places had before been dedicated on the Capitol, now gave way to the great gods whose worship was to be established there, with the exception of Juventas and Terminus, indications that the youth of the Roman empire would never fade, and its boundaries never be reduced. *In digging the foundations* of the temple, the workmen found a human head,' undecayed and trickling with blood, which was taken as a sign that Rome was destined to be the head of the world In a subterraneous cell of this temple, on the Capitol, were preserved the Sibylline books, in which the fate of Rome was revealed. The king was said to have received them from a sibyl or prophetess She had offered to sell him nine books for three hundred pieces of gold, but being treated by the king with scorn she burnt three and then three more, and threatened to destroy the remaining three also unless the king would pay her for them the same sum which she had at first asked for all nine. His curiosity was at last excited, and

The war with Suessa Pometia in the territory of which Tarquinius afterwards established the colonies of Signia and Circeii was the first of a series which fill the early annals of the republic and lasted for upwards of two hundred years

The Roman arms were next directed against Gabii one of the Latin towns situated about twelve miles from Rome It had proudly rejected the proposal to join the confederacy with Rome Tarquinius attempted to besiege the place, but was repulsed, and what could not be accomplished by force he then endeavoured to effect by fraud and treachery While he was occupied with the continuation of his great buildings at Rome his eldest son Sextus according to a preconcerted plan went to Gabii pretending to have been ill treated by his father and showing the wounds which he said his cruel parent had inflicted on him he implored the protection of the Gabines against the tyrant He was kindly received by the Gabines who hoped that with the assistance of an infuriated son they might soon compel the father to abstain from hostilities Sextus stimulated the Gabines to wage war against Rome they listened to his advice and even intrusted him with the command of a body of volunteers who marched out and ravaged the Roman territory Every enterprise succeeded, for booty and soldiers were thrown in his way by his father at certain places The deluded Gabines at length made him chief commander of their troops Several skirmishes took place with the Romans in which the Gabines were allowed to gain advantages over their enemies and the confidence of the Gabines in their leader increased from day to day When Sextus had reached the height of his power and was doubtful as to the manner in which he should deliver Gabii into the hands of his father he secretly sent a messenger to him to request his advice Tarquinius who happened to be in his garden when the messenger arrived was afraid to trust the man with any express and definite message He therefore while walking about in the garden as

trusted to two officers *duumviri* who had to consult them whenever the state was visited by any extraordinary calamity

if he were meditating upon an answer struck off the heads of the tallest poppies with his stick, and without saying a word he dismissed the messenger The latter on his arrival at Gabii related to Sextus what he had seen and the prince at once understood the meaning of his father's act He caused the principal men at Gabii to be put to death by bringing false accusations against them while others were despatched in secret or sent into exile Their property was confiscated and distributed among the multitude who by this means were made to forget the public misfortune When the city was thus bereaved of its best citizens it was without a struggle delivered up into the hands of the Roman king who gave the Roman franchise to its citizens [9] he also concluded a peace with the Aequians and renewed the treaty with the Etruscans

After these successful military undertakings Tarquinius again devoted his attention to the completion of the Capitoline temple the sewers and other useful or ornamental buildings But his security of uninterrupted good fortune was disturbed by alarming prodigies The oracle of Delphi was then in the highest repute in the ancient world and as the prodigies appeared to announce misfortunes to the royal family, the king sent his two younger sons Titus and Arruns to consult the oracle about the means of averting the evil They took with them costly presents for the god and were accompanied by L Junius Brutus a son of the king's sister His brother had been put to death by Tarquinius and he himself had saved his life only by assuming the appearance of a dullard or idiot though in reality he was a young man of strong judgment and intellect and was only watching for an opportunity of delivering his country from the tyranny of his uncle When the king's command had been executed at Delphi the youths could not resist the temptation to ask the Pythia who was to become king of Rome after the death of Tarquinius The

[9] Traces of the ancient greatness of Gabii are still seen in the walls of the cell of a temple of Jupiter But as early as the time of Dionysius the town was a heap of ruins and the temple and the walls of the city were all that then remained.

Pythia answered, 'He who first kisses his mother" The two brothers determined to keep this oracle secret from their brother Sextus, that he might be shut out from the throne, and settled between themselves by lot as to which of them should first kiss their mother on their return to Rome But their plan was an idle one, for the Pythia did not mean their carnal mother, but the earth the mother of all mortals, and Brutus who understood the meaning pretending to fall as he touched the ground, kissed the earth without being observed by his cousins

After the return of the princes to Rome, other prodigies harassed the king's mind they clearly foreboded his downfall, and warned him but he was blind to their import, and his fate had its own way As the great public works had exhausted his treasury, and he was in want of means to soothe the anger of his hard worked and oppressed people, who began loudly to show their discontent, he undertook a war against Ardea, a wealthy town of the Rutulians which was situated on a lofty rock An attempt was made to take the place by assault but as this was impracticable, the Romans laid siege to it hoping gradually to compel the inhabitants by hunger to surrender The Romans therefore lay idle in their tents waiting till the people of Ardea should have consumed their stores of provisions One day as the king's sons and their cousin L. Tarquinius surnamed Collatinus (from the town of Collatia) were banqueting in their tent a discussion arose about the virtues of their wives and each extolled his own above those of the others Collatinus however was strongest in the praise of his wife Lucretia and challenged the princes to convince themselves by going to Rome and Collatia, and paying an unexpected visit to their wives Heated by wine they forthwith mounted their horses and straightway rode to Rome There they found the princesses revelling in the evening at a luxurious banquet with their friends From Rome they proceeded to Collatia and though they arrived very late at night they found Lucretia engaged in spinning amid the circle of her maids Collatinus and the princes were kindly received

by Lucretia and her husband enjoyed the triumph he had gained through her domestic virtues

A few days after their return to the camp Sextus Tarquinius inflamed by reckless lust went secretly with only one trusty companion to Collatia Being a kinsman he was hospitably received by Lucretia but in the dead of night he entered her chamber sword in hand threatening that unless she would consent to satisfy his brutal lust he would kill her and lay a slave with his throat cut beside her body that he would thus render her memory for ever loathsome and return to the camp and tell Collatinus that he had avenged his honour By this terrible threat he gained his end Lucretia overwhelmed with grief in the morning sent a messenger to her husband at Ardea and to her father Lucretius at Rome begging them to come to Collatia each with his most faithful friend for that horrible things had taken place Lucretius came with P Valerius who was afterwards surnamed Publicola, and Collatinus with L Junius Brutus They found the disconsolate wife sitting in her chamber and as her friends entered, tears burst from her eyes She told them the dreadful tale and called upon them to avenge the crime of which she was the victim They swore that the fiendish man should be chastised and endeavoured to comfort her but in vain she drew forth a dagger which she had concealed under her garment and plunged it into her breast While the others stood by amazed at what they had heard and what they saw Brutus drew the dagger out of the body and swore by the bloody weapon to destroy Tarquinius Superbus and all his race His three friends swore to the same effect and followed Brutus as their leader as he demanded of them to put an end to the tyranny exercised by Tarquinius and his sons They carried the corpse of Lucretia into the market place of Collatia The people moved and excited by the dreadful sight took up arms and at once renounced the rule of Tarquinius A garrison was formed at Collatia, and all the young men followed Brutus to Rome The news of the deed of Sextus produced the same indignation at

Rome as it had done at Collatia The gates were closed, and Brutus, who held the office of tribune of the Celeres, ordered the people to be called together in the forum When the people were assembled, and Brutus had explained to them the object of their meeting all were animated by only one feeling with one accord they decreed the deposition of king Tarquinius, and banished him with his wife and family Brutus then assembled a body of volunteers, to set out against the king, who was still in the camp at Ardea, while Lucretius, who had been invested by Tarquinius with the office of prefect of the city, was left behind with the supreme command at Rome Tullia, the queen, had taken to flight, and the people left her punishment to the spirits of her father and husband whom she had murdered When the king in his camp was informed of what was going on at Rome, he immediately set out to quell the insurrection But he found the gates of the city closed against him, while Brutus, by a different road, had reached the camp at Ardea The soldiers saluted him as the liberator of their country, expelled the king's sons, and confirmed the deposition of the tyrant Tarquinius and his two sons, Titus and Aruns, took refuge at Caere in Etruria, where Roman exiles were entitled to settle as citizens Sextus fled to Gabii, which he regarded as his own principality, but the friends of those whom he had put to death now made him pay for his crimes with his life

L Tarquinius Superbus had reigned at Rome, for a period of 25 years, from B C 534 to 510, but no king was elected after him According to the regulations of Servius Tullius the comitia of the centuries met in the field of Mars a truce was concluded with Ardea, and the army called back to Rome The people abolished the kingly dignity for ever and outlawed every one who should attempt to rule as king at Rome The laws of Servius Tullius were restored, and under the presidency of the prefect of the city the people elected two men, L Junius Brutus and L Tarquinius Collatinus, to rule over them with the title of consuls for the term of one year The day of the king s

flight (*regifugium* or *fugalia*) was celebrated at Rome every year on the 24th of February, but though the Romans detested the kingly form of government, and even the very name of king they did not abolish any of the civil or religious institutions of their kings and even their statues on the Capitol were preserved from destruction by a certain feeling of reverence

The history of the last Tarquinius is so much interwoven with poetical tales, and bears such evident marks of exaggeration that all we can look upon as really historical are the bare facts that he was a tyrannical ruler, and the last king of Rome The story of the war with Gabii and the treachery of Sextus are nothing but a repetition of that of Sinon related by Virgil, and that of Zopyrus told by Herodotus [10] It is inconceivable that any ancient sovereign should have granted the franchise as Tarquinius is said to have done, to a city like Gabii, and after such occurrences as tradition has handed down The treaty with Gabii was engraved upon a wooden shield which was preserved at Rome in a temple as late as the time of Dionysius, and the very existence of such a treaty shows the absurdity of the story of the surrender of that town The account of the enormous spoils taken at Suessa Pometia is quite incredible, and though Tarquinius is said to have destroyed the place it re appears in history a few years later,[11] when it is besieged and taken The stories of the particular cruelties of Tarquinius bear the strongest marks of being either inventions or very much exaggerated one of them tells us that he introduced human sacrifices,[12] and another that he invented instruments of torture [13] The statement that Brutus acted the part of an idiot, and was treated as such is at variance with the one that he was invested with the office of tribune of the Celeres and the two statements must have arisen from two different traditions which were afterwards combined into one It is not impossible that the story of his feigned idiocy

[10] III. 154 v 92
[11] Liv ii. 17
[12] Macrob *Saturn* i. 7
[13] Euseb. *Chron* A. 1469 Isidor *Orig* v 27

had no other ground than the signification of the name Brutus, which means "dull" or "stupid," and in the Oscan language "a run away slave" We may also mention that in the year before the deposition of Tarquinius, Brutus is described as a youth, and scarcely two years later we find him the father of a son who is old enough to take part in a conspiracy The beautiful and tragic tale of Lucretia, and of the subsequent banishment of the Tarquins, has in itself nothing improbable that of Lucretia in particular is one of those which happen most frequently in little states governed by tyrants, but it is inseparably connected with the story about the Roman camp before Ardea Now we are told that immediately after the banishment of the king, a truce was concluded with Ardea, and in the treaty with Carthage, which was established in the same year, we find the Romans stipulating that no injury should be done to the Ardeatans, just as if Ardea had been one of the subject Latin towns [14] This fact renders the conclusion of the truce, and consequently the story of the siege, altogether, extremely doubtful

The period during which Rome was governed by kings is not the same in all authorities according to some it was 240 according to others 243, and according to others again 244 years, though the first or round number of 240 seems to have been the one most generally adopted Even if we look apart from the unusual phenomenon of seven elective kings ruling for so long a period as 240 years, there are obvious reasons for treating the chronology of the kingly period, and of the subsequent time down to the taking of Rome by the Gauls, as artificially made up by later annalists, for there is symmetry throughout and where such a symmetry exists we cannot help saying with Archimedes, when he saw mathematical figures in the sand, "Here I perceive the hand of man" Not to mention the impossibilities and absurdities connected with the history of the Tarquins the mere fact of the whole period from the foundation of the city to its capture by the

[14] Polyb iii 22

decide whether they would accept him or not But besides this decision of the people, it was necessary that the gods should approve of the election by augury, when, if the signs were favourable, the new king was inaugurated When this ceremony was over, the king proposed to the assembled curiae a decree or law, by which they should confer upon him the *imperium*, that is, the highest military and judicial power (*lex curiata de imperio*) [15] In the constitution of Servius Tullius, it was of course intended that the king should be elected in the comitia of the centuries, and that the imperium should be conferred upon him by the curiae this regulation was followed in the time of the republic, in reference to the elections of the republican magistrates The king was thus the supreme commander in war, the chief judge, and the high priest of the nation in his judicial functions however he was probably assisted by a council, and it would also seem that a person condemned by the king might appeal to the assembly of the curiae The ensigns of the king's power were the *fasces*, or bundles of axes, which were carried before him by twelve lictors These fasces as well as the other badges of royalty, the curule chair, and the toga praetexta, are said to have been introduced into Rome from Etruria according to some in the reign of Romulus, and according to others in that of the elder Tarquinius or Tullus Hostilius The king derived his income from a portion of the domain land (*ager publicus*), and from his share of the booty taken in war Besides the king there was no permanent magistrate, unless we consider the tribune of the Celeres, who was the king's vicegerent in all military undertakings, to have been one The *custos*, or *praefectus urbis*, that is, the prefect of the city, was intrusted with the protection and defence of the city whenever the king was absent, and was appointed by the king himself

[15] This is expressed by Livy by the phrase *patres auctores fiunt* or *facti sunt* the word *patres* in this phrase is quite equivalent to the patricians assembled in the comitia curiata, and does not by any means signify the senate

The assembly of the people, previous to the constitution of Servius Tullius is naturally no other than the assembly of the patricians according to their curiae (*comitia curiata*) This assembly may, in some respects, be said to have possessed the sovereign power, for it was the source from which the king derived his, and to which it returned on the king's death In delegating to one person the rights originally belonging to them, the people, in one sense, renounced those rights, but, at the same time, they did not pledge themselves to submit to his will, or to give up their co-operation in, and their right of voting upon, matters of public importance The rights of the people, therefore, were not, as in many modern states a concession made to them by their sovereign, but they originally belonged to them, and what they retained, or gave up was based upon a contract between the people and their king The comitia of the curiae were convened by the king, or his vicegerent through a lictor, and had the power of accepting or rejecting any proposal that was brought before them [16] Each citizen had a personal and independent vote in his particular curia but the people did not vote as a mass of individuals when the opinion of each curia was ascertained by the majority of individuals in it, then all the curiae voted each curia being reckoned as one vote just as in the comitia of the centuries, the votes were given by centuries and not by individuals The comitia curiata were held in the comitium under the presidency of the king or the magistrate who had convoked them They had not the power to originate any measure whatever, to propose amendments or to discuss the merits or demerits of a proposal all they could do was to accept or reject, but on this point they had perfect freedom to act as they thought fit and their decision was final

[16] With these comitia curiata we must not confound mere *conciones* that is assemblies in which certain things were only announced to the people, nor the *comitia calata* which were held under the presidency of the pontiffs and in which the people likewise acted a passive part, either receiving information or being called to be witness to certain religious or legal transactions.

The principal subjects on which the assembly had to decide were the election of the king, the passing of laws, and a variety of subjects connected with the internal administration of the affairs of the curiae gentes and familiæ.[14] In the reign of Tullus Hostilius the assembly is said to have become the high court of appeal in criminal cases; but this is very doubtful, as the same is stated to have taken place in the first year of the republic. In the constitution of Servius Tullius most of the rights of the comitia curiata were transferred to the comitia of the centuries, of which we have already spoken, and the comitia of the curiae received a compensation in their right of sanctioning or rejecting the measures which had been passed by the centuries.

Respecting the condition of the people and their mode of living in those early times scarcely anything is known beyond what may be gleaned from the legendary traditions. The progress of civilisation must have been greatly impeded by the constant wars which the Romans had to carry on with their neighbours, although the stories about king Numa and his regulations would lead us to infer that there existed in his reign a certain degree of well being and industrial activity forming a strong contrast with the shepherds and their mode of life in the time of Romulus. The earliest Romans had no coinage, and what they had to pay they paid in cattle or masses of brass; for Servius Tullius is said to have been the first king who coined brass, marking it with the figure of some animal.[15] It was not till the time of Tarquinius that Rome, which until then had been a place of not much note and more like a cluster of separate villages or little townships, acquired

[14] Dionysius, (ii. 14, iv. 20) who in general describes the distribution of the powers of government nearly the same as it was in the later times of the republic, is wrong in his definitions. With regard to the comitia, e.g. he mentions that they had also to decide upon peace and war; but in the kingly period, and for a long time after, no instance occurs of the people having had anything to do with the conclusion of a peace, whereas it is well known that war could not be declared without the consent of the people. See Liv. i. 32; Gellius xv. 4.

[15] Hence the word for money, *pecunia*, was derived from *pecus*, cattle. See Plin. *Hist. Nat.* xxxiii. 3, 13.

the appearance of a great city, and was filled with magnificent architectural works The principal and most honourable occupation of a Roman was agriculture, and rustic festivals sanctified and enlivened the toil of the labourer in the field Commerce and trade, for purposes of gain being little esteemed were mostly left to the clients, and afterwards to those plebeians who had no farms of their own to cultivate but still commerce must have acquired considerable importance, from the time that Ostia became the port of Rome, as we may gather from the treaty which Rome concluded with Carthage in the first year of the republic The fine arts and literature were yet foreign to the Romans and the great architectural works which were executed under the last kings were designed and superintended by Etruscan artists The language of the Romans was harsh and inflexible and little suited to the purposes of literature the art of writing was unquestionably known but probably used only for public purposes such as the census the keeping of the annals or records of the most remarkable events and prodigies of each year and other similar purposes The Romans did not possess the artistic genius which forms so prominent a feature in the character of the Greeks their character was more severe and warlike and practical and domestic life had more charms for them than for the volatile Greeks The power of a father over his children was almost unlimited Their domestic life was of the simplest kind it seems to have resembled that of our ancestors during the early part of the middle ages for the virtues of the wife of the first Tarquinius and of the chaste Lucretia consisted in their industrious and domestic habits we find these princesses described as occupied with spinning amid their maid servants while tradition mentions with disapprobation the luxurious life of the princesses in the court of the last king

CHAPTER VI

ESTABLISHMENT OF THE REPUBLIC—EVENTS DOWN TO THE BATTLE OF LAKE REGILLUS—DEATH OF TARQUINIUS SUPERBUS.

THE revolution which put an end to the kingly government at Rome, and changed it into a republic, did not produce any material alteration in the state of affairs, or in the condition of the people all that was done was the restoration of the constitution of Servius Tullius, for the two republican magistrates,[1] who had been appointed after the banishment of the king, received the same power, and the same ensigns of their dignity, as had before belonged to the king The only difference was, that one of the magistrates might be checked by the other, and that their office lasted only one year, after which they retired to a private station, and might be taken to account for their conduct during the period of their office The king had been the high priest, as he had to perform certain public sacrifices on behalf of the whole nation, but this priestly dignity was not transferred to the consuls, and a separate priest (*rex sacrificulus* or *rex sacrorum*) was appointed for the purpose of offering those public sacrifices The two consuls, moreover, had not the fasces, the ensigns of their power, both at the same time, but alternately every month, beginning with the elder of the two magistrates, or the *consul major*, so that in reality one only was invested with the imperium at a time

The period which now follows, from the establishment of the commonwealth down to the battle of Lake Regillus, is not more historical than any of the preceding periods it is full of poetical tales, and forms the conclusion of the mythical age of Rome But we shall relate the traditions as they have been handed down to us, and make our comments on them as we proceed

Brutus, who had the fasces first, made the people swear not to allow any one ever to rule at Rome with the title of king his next step was to fill up the vacancies in the senate, which had been greatly reduced by the late king He increased the number of senators to 300, which henceforth remained unchanged for many centuries The new senators were taken from the equestrian order, that is, from the wealthiest class of Roman citizens and their number probably comprised plebeians as well as patricians A distinction, however, is said to have been made, inasmuch as the new senators were called *conscripti*, while the old ones were styled *patres*, so that henceforth a person, in addressing the senate had to use the title *patres conscripti*, that is, *patres et conscripti*

As Tarquinius Collatinus, the second in the first pair of consuls, belonged to the family of the exiled king, Brutus prevailed upon him to resign his office, and Collatinus withdrew to Lanuvium, where he lived in quiet retirement until his death This simple story contains two points which are inexplicable first, how was it that Brutus, himself a nephew of the exiled king[3] could propose to Collatinus to resign his office without offering himself to set the example? and, secondly, is it not revolting to every good feeling that Collatinus, the husband of Lucretia should have been allowed to go into exile? The common excuse, derived from the jealousy of republics, is quite inapplicable here, for Collatinus had done nothing to provoke such a jealousy The story, in its present form, therefore is either incomplete and incorrect, or we must believe that the poet, from whom it is derived, overlooked those points on which history has a right to

[3] Liv i. 56

demand an answer In the place of Brutus, the people elected P Valerius, who had likewise been one of the four liberators of his country, and at the same time the centuries exiled the whole gens of the Tarquins

There was, however, at Rome, a party of young men, especially nobles, who delighted more in the licentious and voluptuous life they had been permitted to lead under the rule of the late tyrant, and in their intercourse with the reckless princes of the royal family, than in that freedom of all ranks, which obliged them to keep within the bounds of decency While they, therefore, regretted the abolition of the regal power, circumstances seemed to render its recovery possible, for at that time there arrived at Rome Etruscan ambassadors, to demand of the senate the restoration of the Tarquins, or, at least, that their property should be given back to them During their stay at Rome, these ambassadors formed a conspiracy, the object of which was to effect the restoration of the exiled king, who had in the meantime repaired from Caere to Tarquinii The Vitelli, Aquilii, and the two sons of Brutus (who himself was married to a sister of the Vitelli,) were accomplices in the conspiracy [3] The senate having decreed that the property left behind at Rome should be given up to the exiles, the ambassadors, while making preparations for carrying away the goods, vigorously prosecuted their treacherous scheme But a slave, who had overheard all that was planned, at a banquet in the house of the Vitelli, and knew that the ambassadors were in possession of letters from their Roman accomplices, denounced the whole affair to the consuls The consuls forthwith ordered the conspirators to be arrested, and had them brought to trial Their guilt was established beyond a doubt, and Brutus condemned his own sons to death, by virtue of the power he had over them as their father The same verdict was pronounced

[3] We have already noticed the inconsistency of the story which makes Brutus a *parvenu* a short time before the revolution, and in the very year of the revolution describes him as the father of two sons old enough to join in a treasonable plot. See p. 89

against the others, but being patricians they had a right to appeal to their peers The example of Brutus however, left the curiae no choice, and all the criminals were scourged and beheaded

The promise of the senate, to restore the property to the exiles was retracted on the discovery of the conduct of the ambassadors and all the king's goods were abandoned to the plunder of the populace The estates of the Tarquins were distributed among the plebeians in parcels of seven jugers each whereby those who received allotments acquired a personal interest in assisting to prevent the return of the Tarquins These estates were consecrated to Mars and were afterwards called the Field of Mars (*Campus Martius*) The corn which grew there was just ripe, but as the people were scrupulous about the propriety of consuming it they took the sheaves and threw them all into the river, which happened to be very shallow The sheaves and baskets ran against one another their course was checked, and as they accumulated they formed the island in the Tiber known by the name of *insula Tiberina*,[4] which afterwards became sacred to the god Aesculapius

When the news of these occurrences were brought to Tarquinius for the ambassadors had been allowed to depart unmolested he at once resolved on waging war against Rome and as he promised the Tarquinians and Veientines that the districts which Rome had taken from them should be restored to them they joined him with large armies The Roman consuls marched out to meet their enemies Valerius commanded the infantry and Brutus the cavalry The Etruscan cavalry was in the command of the king's son Aruns who on recognising Brutus galloped against him with all his might Brutus no less gallant did the same, and the shock with which the two rushed against each other was so vehement that both fell dead from their horses The infantry then took up the fight which lasted all day In the evening both armies being

[4] It scarcely requires to be observed that this story about the origin of the island in the Tiber is a mere fiction. See Gellius vi 7 Plut. *Public* 8 Dionys. v 3 Plin. *Hist Nat* xviii 4

equally worn out, withdrew to their camps; though neither party would admit that they were vanquished. But in the night the voice of the god Silvanus was heard saying, that the Etruscans had lost one man more than the Romans, and that victory belonged to the latter. This voice filled the Etruscans with terror, and they immediately took to flight. On the following morning Valerius, on seeing that the enemy was gone, collected the spoils, and returned to Rome in triumph. This battle was fought near the forest of Arsia. Valerius solemnized the burial of Brutus with great splendour; but his loss was felt so deeply by the people, that the Roman matrons mourned for him a whole year as for a father. His statue was placed in the Capitol, amid those of the Roman kings.

As P. Valerius did not cause a successor to Brutus to be elected, and as he was at the same time building for himself a stone house on the top of the Velia, in a lofty and strong position, the people suspected him of aiming at kingly power. He himself was unaware of any such thing, but when he was told of the rumours that were afloat, he stopped the building; and having convoked the assembly of the curiæ, he appeared before them with his fasces lowered, a sign that he respected the majesty of the people, and regarded them as the source of his power. This display of deference to them created great delight among the people: they granted him a piece of land in the ascent of the Velia, and conferred upon him the privilege of having the doors of his house opening into the street.

In order to prove still more to the people how little he was inclined to revive the kingly dignity, and how seriously he thought even of restraining the consular power within certain limits, he enacted several laws, which were so agreeable to the people that they honoured him with the surname of *Publicola*, that is, the man who honours the *populus*. One of these laws allowed a citizen, who had been condemned by a magistrate to be fined, scourged, or put to death, to appeal to the assembly of the people. This law of course referred only to the plebeians, who

thus obtained the right of appeal to the assembly of the plebeian tribes,[5] for the patricians had always been in the enjoyment of the right of appeal to the curiae This right of appeal, however, did not extend beyond one mile from the city, for there the magistrate might avail himself of his *imperium* against patricians as well as plebeians[6] Another law of Valerius enacted that any one who should be convicted of aiming at regal power, or should exercise any authority with which he was not invested by the people, should be devoted with all his substance to the gods[7] When these laws were passed, he convened the assembly of the centuries for the election of a successor to Brutus The new consul was Sp Lucretius, but as he was a man much advanced in years, who died a few days after his election the people chose in his place M Horatius Pulvillus An event soon occurred which excited jealousy between the two consuls and their friends The temple of Jupiter, on the Capitol had not yet been dedicated, and as each consul was anxious to perform the solemnity, they drew lots, but fortune favoured Horatius The friends of Valerius tried by all means to throw obstacles in the way, but in vain At the moment when Horatius was grasping the door post of the temple, some one suddenly called out to him that his son had died and that under these circumstances he ought not to perform so solemn an act, but Horatius exclaimed "It concerns me not," and completed the dedication The ides of September, on which the dedication took place was the beginning of a new era and an account of it was kept by a nail being driven into the wall of the temple every year on the same day

One of the most interesting events of the first year of the republic, and one which is established by better authority than any other of the same time is the first treaty that Rome concluded with Carthage Polybius,[8] the only writer who has noticed the treaty and rescued it from oblivion, translated it

[5] Liv ii 55 x 9, Dionys ix 39
[6] Liv ii 70 Cass iv 10

from brazen tables then existing in the Capitol in the archives of the aediles. The language of the treaty was so obsolete that in some parts even the more learned among the Romans could only guess at the meaning. From this treaty we learn that Rome at the time when it was concluded ruled over the whole coast of Latium, from the mouth of the Tiber to Terracina; that Rome made stipulations in behalf of Ardea, Antium, Aricia, Circeii, and Terracina; that the Romans and their confederates promised not to sail into any of the harbours south of Cape Hermaeum, which formed the eastern boundary of the gulph of Carthage; that in Sicily the Roman merchants were to have the same privileges as the Carthaginians, that they were allowed to trade at Carthage on the coast of Libya west of Carthage and in Sardinia. This treaty with the great commercial republic of Carthage opens at once a wide field of speculation inasmuch as we here find Rome in a relation of which her legendary history has not preserved a trace. It is worthy of remark that the treaty mentions Brutus and Horatius as the two consuls under whom it was concluded, a circumstance which is irreconcilable with the common traditions in which Brutus and Horatius were not consuls at the same time, but the latter was the successor of the former.

In this manner the first year of the republic passed away, and P. Valerius was elected consul a second time with T. Lucretius. The exiled king, who with his family had in the meantime taken refuge with Porsenna, the lord (Lar) or king of Clusium in Etruria, prevailed upon him to make war against Rome. Porsenna accordingly marched with a formidable army into the territory of the republic.* The Romans were alarmed in the highest degree, for never had so powerful an enemy appeared in the neighbourhood of the city; everything that could be devised was done to please the people (the plebeians), and thus to make them hold out

* Dionysius makes Octavius Mamilius and the Latins join the Etruscans; but this is a mere fiction, arising from the notion that the son-in-law of Tarquinius could not have been idle during the struggle.

firmly against the mighty invader The Janiculum was taken at once by the Etruscans, and the Roman garrison of that fort took refuge within the city, which was now separated from the enemy only by the wooden bridge (*pons sublicius*) As the Etruscans advanced towards it the Romans fled, with the exception of Horatius Cocles, who had been appointed to guard it and his comrades Sp Larcius and T Herminius While the Romans were flying across, Horatius kept off the assailing host, and bade the Romans tear down the bridge as soon as they reached the other side. The three heroes stood like rocks against thousands of enemies, but at length Horatius commanded his comrades to return to the city, and he alone resisted the foes until the shouts of the workmen and the crash of the timber announced to him that all were safe, and that the bridge was torn down He then prayed to the god of the Tiber, that he would save him and his arms and dashed into the stream Amid the showers of the enemy s arrows he swam across to the city His grateful fellow citizens afterwards erected a statue to him in the *comitium* and gave him as much land as he could plough round in a day [10]

The Etruscans now besieged Rome which began to suffer from famine The citizens testified their gratitude to Horatius by bringing him all the provisions they could stint themselves of When the famine was raging very high and there appeared to be no hope of saving Rome C Mucius a noble youth with the sanction of the senate went across the Tiber with the intention of killing king Porsenna with a sword which he had concealed under his garment He understood the Etruscan language and made his way up to the king s tent but mistaking a scribe who was transacting business with the soldiers for the king he ran his sword through the scribe As he attempted to force his way back through the surrounding crowd the king s attendants seized him and brought him before their master Mucius frankly declared

[10] This is of course a poetical exaggeration and quite incompatible with the amount of land possessed even by the very wealthiest Romans of later times

what had been his intention, and told the king that there were many more, who were bold and resolute enough to follow his example The enraged king forthwith ordered a fire to be kindled to wrench from Mucius by torture an explanation of the vague threat he had held out, but Mucius, to show that such things could not intimidate him, thrust his right hand into the flame which was burning on the altar The king, amazed at this unequalled courage and defiance, rose from his seat and bade him depart in peace Mucius then informed him that there were 300 young Romans who had sworn to destroy him, and would without fail accomplish what he himself had not succeeded in Mucius, who henceforth bore the surname of Scaevola from his having only his left (*scaevus*) hand returned to Rome [11] He was immediately followed by ambassadors from Porsenna, who was anxious to get out of the perilous position in which he found himself through the revelation of Mucius, and now proposed terms of peace It was in vain that he demanded the restoration of Tarquinius the Romans however consented to give back to the Veientines the seven districts (*pagi*) which had been taken from them, and to give hostages for the withdrawal of the Etruscan garrison from the Janiculum Peace was thus concluded, and Porsenna with his army withdrew from the Roman territory

After such heroic deeds of the men, the Roman women also resolved upon winning laurels for themselves Cloelia, one of the female hostages whom Porsenna had taken with him contrived with the other maidens to escape from the Etruscan camp, and swam across the Tiber amid the darts of the pursuers She brought her friends back in safety to their parents at Rome The king, on hearing of it sent envoys to demand the surrender of the hostages, and the Romans faithful to their treaty, sent Cloelia and her companions back Porsenna acting in a no less chivalrous spirit, treated her with honour and distinction and allowed her to set free any of the young damsels she pleased

[11] He was rewarded with a piece of land, on the Etruscan side of the river, which was in after-times known by the name of *prata Mucia*

She chose the youngest, as being most in need of protection because most exposed to danger Peace was then renewed, and the Romans honoured Cloelia with an equestrian statue, which was set up at the top of the sacred road (*via sacra*)

This is the story about the war with Porsenna, such as it was celebrated in poetry and corrupted and disfigured by the vanity of the Romans who could not prevail upon themselves to own that their city had once been the prey of a foreign conqueror But that Rome did fall, and fall very low, is implied in several features of the story itself, in spite of all attempts to disguise it, and Tacitus[12] clearly and expressly acknowledges that Rome was forced to surrender to Porsenna Pliny[13] informs us, that among the conditions of peace which the conqueror dictated to Rome, there was one forbidding the Romans the use of iron except for agricultural purposes, and a people who were obliged to submit to such a condition, must surely have been compelled to deliver up all their arms Now although there is, in the tradition of this war perhaps not a single fact that can stand the test of criticism, there cannot be the slightest doubt that Porsenna for a time was lord of Rome which had yielded up its sovereignty to him This is also implied in the statement that the Roman senate sent him an ivory throne and the other badges of royalty [14] and we may safely believe that Rome, when she recovered her independence was obliged to give up to her conqueror a large portion of her territory, for on this supposition alone is it intelligible how in the year B C 495, the Roman territory had no more than 21 tribes or regions out of the 30 instituted by Servius Tullius [15] Livy compresses the whole war with Porsenna into the space of one year, whereas others state that it was carried on for three successive years The evacuation of the Janiculum did not in all probability take place until Rome had regained her independence The Romans, in forging their account of the war with Porsenna seem to have forgotten that it is a more glorious thing to liberate

[12] *Histor* iv 72.
[13] *Hist Nat* xxxiv 39
[14] Dionys v 35
[15] Liv ii 21 comp. above p 72

oneself from the yoke of a foreign conqueror than to make the vain boast of having never been conquered

From Rome either during her reduction or after her restoration Porsenna sent his son Arruns with a detachment of his troops to lay siege to Aricia probably with a view of making himself master of all Latium but Arruns fell in battle and a small band only escaped to Rome in a most wretched condition The Romans received them with great kindness nursed the wounded and provided them with all they wanted Some of the e Etruscans afterwards returned to their own country but others remained at Rome where a place was assigned to them which was subsequently named after them the *Tuscus vicus*

Porsenna had in the meantime returned to Clusium and again sent envoys to Rome respecting the restoration of Tarquinius whom the tradition loses sight of throughout the war with Porsenna But the Romans remaining firm in their determination Porsenna at length declared, that he would no further interfere on behalf of the exiles and in order not to be outdone by the Romans in generosity he sent back the hostages who were yet in his power as well as restored to Rome the Veientine districts which had before been taken from her Porsenna is thus made to display his liberality towards Rome at the cost of his own allies But how little confidence can be placed in these accounts is evident from the fact that more than fifty years later Rome had no possessions on the Etruscan side of the Tiber with the exception of the Janiculum and the district of the Vatican. The defeat of the Etruscans at Aricia may be regarded as historical and it was probably this defeat which afforded Rome an opportunity of shaking off their yoke The property which Porsenna on quitting Rome left behind him and at the disposal of the Romans was sold by public auction which gave rise to the symbolical custom at auctions of selling the goods of king Porsenna. This custom lasted down to the end of the republic Livy himself found it difficult to explain how such a custom could have arisen if Porsenna had parted from Rome in friend

ship Henceforth the Etruscan king disappears from history The mythical character of the stories about him is further evident from the sepulchral monument which the Etruscans are said to have erected to him, which is as inconceivable as anything described in the Arabian Nights' Entertainments [16] All that can be said with certainty is, that at one time Rome was subject to an Etruscan conqueror, but whether this conquest belongs to the time to which tradition assigns it or to an earlier period, must be left uncertain

After the peace with Porsenna, Tarquinius withdrew to his son in law, Mamilius Octavius, at Tusculum The Romans, after having recovered their independence, again provided themselves with arms and carried on wars with some of the Sabine towns in which they were victorious Disputes among the Sabines themselves, as to whether peace should be concluded with the Romans or the war continued induced the proud Sabine Atta Clausus, afterwards called Appius Claudius, to migrate with his family and a host of clients to Rome The Claudii received the Roman franchise, and were raised to the rank of patricians they formed the Claudian tribe lands being assigned to them beyond the river Anio The consuls then marched into the country of the Sabines, and a victory which they gained over them did away with all fear of further aggression from that quarter In the same year, B C 503, died Valerius Publicola the greatest hero of the time he was honoured with a burial at the public expense, and the Roman matrons mourned for him as they had done for Brutus

About the same time a war was carried on with the Aurunci ans the towns of Cora and Pometia having revolted against Rome and joined the Aurunci ans On the first encounter the Aurunci ans were put to flight and the war became concentrated about Pometia which was besieged, but the Romans were worsted and returned home Soon after the Romans made another attempt upon Pometia, with more success for the town was

[16] Pliny, *Hist. Nat* xxxvi 19, § 3, &c

obl ged to surrender, and most of its inhab tants were put to the sword or sold as slaves, and the town itself was razed to the ground [12]

In B C 501, a more serious war broke out with the Latins. It is described in detail by Dionysius, although it is anything but historical. Livy passes over it very lightly, and only relates the great and decisive battle of Lake Regillus which he places in B C 499, while others, and among them Dionysius, place it four years later The whole affair, however, is only an heroic lay, for though the Romans are said to have won a complete victory, yet after several years of inactivity, B C 493, they conclude a treaty with Latium, in which the Latins are placed on a footing of equality with the Romans—the very object for which the Latins are said to have fought the battle of Lake Regillus Thirty Latin town-ships, it is said, had conspired against Rome, at the instigation of Mamilius Octavius. Under these alarming circumstances the Romans appointed a dictator to conduct the war against the Latins His name, according to the earliest writers was T Larcius The office of dictator, which had existed at Alba and in other Latin towns long before this time, conferred upon the person invested with it a more unlimited power than had been possessed by the kings, for he had the imperium within the city, and from his sentence there was no appeal. In this manner the patricians, from among whom alone the dictator could be chosen, were enabled to coerce the plebeians when they refused to take up arms against the Latins [13] Whether anything was undertaken by the dictator against the Latins is uncertain, but his appointment kept the Sabines in awe and the

plebeians in quiet submission However, in the year after, Fidenæ was besieged, Crustumeria taken, and Praeneste, which deserted the cause of the Latins, joined the Romans As the contest between the two nations began to take a serious turn, both engaged to keep peace for a time,[19] that the various ties among their citizens might be peaceably dissolved All the women of each nation who were married in the other obtained leave to return to their relatives, taking their daughters with them, accordingly the Roman women left their Latin husbands, and all the Latin women, with the exception of two, quitted Rome

When these things were settled, A Postumius was appointed dictator, and T Aebutius his master of the horse The Romans marched out towards the Lake Regillus in the territory of Tusculum A report that the exiled king Tarquinius was in the army of the Latins so much enraged the Romans, that they attacked the enemy at once The battle which now ensued, according to the description in Livy,[20] is, as Niebuhr remarks, "a conflict between heroes like those in the Iliad All the heroes encounter, hand to hand, and by them the victory is thrown now into one scale, now into another, while the troops fight without any effect" It would be idle here to give an account of the battle, suffice it to say, that most of the heroes fell, and that the Roman equites at length decided the victory, by routing the vanquished enemy A temple had been vowed by the dictator to the Dioscuri (Castor and Pollux), and two gigantic youths on white horses were seen fighting in the Roman ranks before the pursuit of the Latins was over, the two divine heroes appeared at Rome, and announced the happy event of the day to the people assembled in the comitium

This glorious battle concludes the mythical period of Roman history, and though the subsequent history is still much mixed up with fables and lays, we feel that we have reached historical

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ground Sextus Tarquinius had fallen in the battle but his father had only been wounded and escaped to Cuma where he died in B C 496 leaving his property to Aristodemus the tyrant of Cuma The traditions of this Latin war lead us to believe that so long as Tarquinius was alive and Rome was threatened by dangers from without the patricians did all they could to keep the plebeians who formed the main strength of the Roman armies in good humour and when they did not succeed by such means the appointment of a dictator was an efficient way of compelling them to obedience It is expressly stated that in the year of Tarquinius death the patricians began to trample upon the plebeians

CHAPTER VII

INSURRECTION AND SECESSION OF THE PLEBS —THE TRIBUNES OF THE PLEBS —LEAGUE WITH THE LATINS.—CORIOLANUS —LEAGUE WITH THE HERNICANS —SP CASSIUS.—WARS AGAINST VEII, THE VOLSCIANS AND AEQUIANS. — PUBLILIUS VOLERO, TERENTILLUS ARSA, AND THE INTERNAL STRUGGLES BETWEEN THE TWO ESTATES.

The plebeians, who ever since the establishment of the republic had been obliged to shed their blood in her wars, and were subject to the most rigorous laws at home, had been kept quiet, partly by mildness and moderation in times of danger, partly by the terror of a dictator, but no sooner had the outward danger disappeared and Tarquinius died, than the patricians at once threw off the mask, and indulged in every kind of oppression that aristocratic pride and insatiable avarice could devise General poverty and debts were frequently the causes of great civil commotions in the states of antiquity, and such was the case at Rome also But the commotions which there occurred, far from leading to the dissolution or overthrow of the constitution, as they would probably have done in other states, were only the means of its natural development and improvement

The distress and poverty of the plebeians must have been gradually increasing, ever since their incorporation with the Roman state, for, not to mention the hardships and oppression to which they were subjected by the last king they had been obliged during the uninterrupted wars to serve in the armies and to pay the tribute, and thus were unable to attend to their farms and fields, which were neglected, and ravaged by foreign enemies The consequence was, that the impoverished plebeians were

obliged to borrow money of the wealthy patricians at an exorbitant rate of interest Now a creditor at Rome, as at Athens previous to the legislation of Solon, might by law deprive his insolvent debtor of his freedom and life,[1] nay, even the children and grandchildren of an insolvent debtor might be thrown into the private dungeons of the nobles, in which, down to a very late period, they were kept as slaves [2] for the law was that, if a debtor, within a certain period after the debt had been proved before the magistrate, was unable to satisfy his creditor, he was given over to him as his bondsman, that is, he became what was called his creditor's *addictus* If, on the other hand, a person in borrowing money of another disposed of himself and all that belonged to him, he became a *nexus* or *nexu vinctus*, that is, he formally sold himself and all he possessed by his own act and deed [3] A person who had thus disposed of himself, in the form of a sale, remained in possession of his pledge, that is, of his own person, for the time, after the lapse of which he had to redeem himself by repaying the borrowed money If it was not repaid, the creditor laid claim to the debtor's property Persons who had no property to pledge must always have contracted their loans under the form of a sale, and any one who dreaded becoming an *addictus* might pledge his person or become a *nexus*, in order to escape the greater misfortune, for as a *nexus* he might pay off his debt by labour, whereas as an *addictus* he was at once thrown into prison and became the slave of his creditor If, however, a *nexus* was unable to pay his debt in any way, the magistrate declared him an *addictus*, and his lot was chains, corporal punishment, and all the hardships of slavery The number of *addicti* and *nexi* must have been very great at the time when Tarquinius Superbus died, and as the plebeians were excluded from all share in the

[1] It is said, that a law prohibiting a debtor from pledging his person had been promulgated by king Servius Tullius, that it was abolished by the last Tarquinius, and again enacted by Valerius Publicola Dionys. v, 2, but it seems that by this time it had again been abolished.

[2] Liv vi 36, viii 28

[3] The word *nexus* has nothing to do with fetters or chains, as some modern writers think.

administration of the republic, and had only the sad privilege of fighting hard battles in the service of the republic, they might well say that they felt happier in war than in peace, and more free on the field of battle than at home

Such a state of things could not last long, and as it usually happens, one spark only was needed to bring about the conflagration In the consulship of Appius Claudius and P Servilius, B C 495, an old man, in a most miserable and emaciated condition, rushed into the forum, showing the bloody stripes on his back, and telling the people his history, which undoubtedly was the same as that of many hundred others he had served in several wars, his farm had been ravaged and burnt and his cattle driven away, in order to pay his taxes he had been obliged to run into debt, the usurious interest had at length deprived him of his estate, and he had been compelled by his creditor to work as a slave The excitement created by this occurrence soon spread through the whole city Numbers of persons who had reason to fear a similar fate as well as many who were actuated by a feeling of humanity, were seized with indignation, and large crowds assembled in the forum The senate and the consuls, were undecided as to what should be done but Appius Claudius, rich and greedy, and haughty and insolent like all the members of his family, was bent upon quieting the rioters by force, while his colleague tried to appease the excited multitude by gentle means As these things were going on, messengers from the country announced that a Volscian army was on its road to Rome intending to lay siege to the city The plebeians were forthwith called upon to enlist in the legions, but they spurned the summons, declaring that they would rather see the whole republic perish than sacrifice themselves for the benefit of their tyrants and oppressors At this critical moment, when compulsion was impossible, P Servilius issued a proclamation that the complaints of the commonalty should be looked into after the war, that no person imprisoned for debt should be hindered from serving, if he were willing, that no creditor should possess

upon the plebeians to fight fresh battles Whenever attempts were made to compel the people, scenes of violence occurred which threatened to end in general civil bloodshed Some patricians advised to purchase peace by granting what the insurgents demanded, some would insist upon treating with those only who had served in the late campaign, while a third party, headed by Appius Claudius, obstinately declared that the insurrection ought to be quelled by the appointment of a dictator Appius Claudius would have been invested with the office, had it not been for the fear lest things should come to extremes at a moment when Rome was threatened by the Sabines Volscians and Aequians The more moderate party therefore prevailed, and M Valerius was created dictator The plebeians had confidence in the family of the Valerii, they allowed themselves to be enlisted, and an army consisting it is said, of ten legions was soon ready to take the field The consuls marched against the Volscians and Aequians and gained brilliant victories Valerius led the troops against the Sabines who were put to flight in a fierce battle and their camp was taken, Velitrae also fell into the hands of the victors, and the dictator returned to Rome in triumph and was rewarded with distinguished honours Faithful to his promise, he demanded that the condition of the plebeians should be investigated, and as the infatuated senate refused, he resigned his dictatorship The plebeians seeing it was not his fault that they were again deceived conducted him to his house, but the senators fearing lest the consular armies when disbanded should again hold their secret and nocturnal meetings ordered the legions to remain in arms under the pretext that the Aequians were renewing their hostilities This order drove the army into open rebellion. The soldiers appointed L Sicinius their leader crossed the river Anio, and took up a strong position on the Sacred Mount, in the neighbourhood of Crustumerium[4] The

[4] Hence Varro, *L L.* v 81 calls the secess on *Secess o Crustumerina* The mount was called the Sacred because on leaving it the plebeians consecrated it to Jupiter Some writers say that the plebeians seceded only to

protection against any abuse of a consul's authority The person of a tribune was sacred any one who violated the person of a tribune was declared an outlaw, so that any one might kill the offender, and his house was forfeited to the temple of Ceres As a tribune was a public guardian, his house was kept open day and night for all who were in want of his succour, either against a magistrate or a private individual The tribunes further presided in the assemblies of the plebeian tribes they might bring before them any proposal they thought fit, and if any one impeded them in so doing, they had the power to arraign him before the commonalty, and propose a fine to be inflicted on him if the offender refused paying the fine, his property was forfeited Another great power of the tribunes consisted in their *veto*, or their right of intercession, by which they might stop any act of a magistrate or decree of the senate, for they were allowed to sit at *the entrance of the senate hall, and thus to hear all that was* going on within The senate henceforth appears as the guardian of the patrician order, while the tribunes watched the interests of the commonalty, and the two therefore are natural antagonists The mere preventive character, however, which the tribunes originally possessed, gradually rose to a preponderating and, in the end, to an overwhelming power, before which consuls and dictators were made to tremble The people had now acquired an organ through which they could give utterance to their wishes and wants, and this is the first element in the development of a free constitution From this time we must date the struggle between the two orders, the plebeians being resolved to acquire an equality of rights with the patricians, and the latter being just as obstinate in preserving their exclusive rights For a long time the plebeians indeed continued to recognise certain privileges of the nobles, but they carried on the contest with a perseverance, forbearance, and moderation of which there is scarcely a parallel in the history of the world The main causes of this gradual advancement of the plebeians were, on the one hand, the reverence with which the Romans at all times treated the ancient

right of contracting legal marriages between persons of the two states continued to exist[9] Rome was thus strengthened against foreign enemies, and in the struggles of the patricians against the plebeians, the former could always rely on the support of the allies But the equality established between the two nations could not be of very long duration, for Rome could not bear the feeling of sharing her power with another state her ambition was too boundless and she gradually assumed a superiority at the common diet, where the affairs of the allied states were discussed, until, after the lapse of somewhat more than a century, Rome's arrogance brought about the final dissolution of the Latin confederacy

The secession of the plebs had taken place during the autumn of the year B C 493, and the fields and the harvest had been completely neglected, the consequence was that in the next year Rome was visited by dearth and famine Envoys were sent to Campania Etruria, and Sicily, to obtain the necessary provisions, and in B C 491, Gelo of Syracuse is said to have been generous enough not to accept the money for a large supply of corn which had been purchased in the port of his capital[10] While Rome was struggling with these difficulties, a war was carried on against the Volscians, which is said to have commenced in the year of the secession, and to have been conducted by Postumus Cominius the colleague of Sp Cassius After the conquest of a few towns the Romans besieged Corioli, which was taken through the gallantry of a young patrician C Marcius, who from this event, received the surname of Coriolanus Had not the Volscians at this time been visited by a plague, they would again have fallen upon the starving Romans, who, in order to secure themselves against foreign enemies, founded several colonies, which served as strongholds and garrisons against hostile attacks The plebeians naturally suffered most under these circumstances, and when the supply of corn arrived

[9] Dionys vi 95, Festus, s v praetor ad portam

[10] This statement however is irreconcileable with chronology, for Gelo was not then tyrant of Syracuse

from Sicily, the selfish and hard hearted patricians bethought themselves whether it would not be feasible to make the plebeians sell for bread the rights which they had gained by their secession Marcius Coriolanus was the most avowed enemy of the plebeians and their tribunes, and it was he who suggested the treacherous thought to his fellow-patricians The senate itself thought the scheme too inhuman, and the plebeians would have torn Coriolanus to pieces as he came out of the senate, had not the tribunes interfered They impeached him before the commonalty, charging him with attempting to destroy the compact entered into by the two estates on the Sacred Mount [1] The exasperation of the plebeians was as great as the exertions and intrigues of the patricians to prevent the trial of their champion, or to obtain his acquittal As he did not appear on the day fixed for the trial, he was condemned in his absence, and escaped to the Volscians, threatening to invade his country at the head of a foreign army

The Volscians were glad at the arrival of a powerful Roman who was ready to assist them in their wars against Rome, and Attius Tullius, the most distinguished among them, and the most inveterate enemy of the Romans, received him hospitably into his house There was at the time no war with the Volscians, but as the Romans demanded of all the Volscians who happened to be staying among them forthwith to quit the city, the indignation of the Volscians was roused, and war was decreed at once Attius Tullius and Coriolanus were entrusted with the joint command of the Volscian army The latter marched against Circeii, he expelled the Roman colonists from the place, and delivered up the town into the hands of the Volscians In like

[1] Niebuhr justly remarks, that the powers said to have been exercised by the tribunes, in the proceedings against Coriolanus, cannot have been possessed by them at that early time, considering moreover, that there was no motive then for a Sicilian tyrant to support Rome, and that Gelo was not yet tyrant of Syracuse, Niebuhr concludes, that the story of Coriolanus belongs to a much later date and has been inserted here by mistake The whole legend of Coriolanus is full of contradictions, for Corioli, *e.g.*, at the time when he is said to have taken it, was a Latin town, and in alliance with Rome

manner he took a great number of other towns, steadily advancing towards Rome At length he pitched his camp near the Cluilian ditch, and ravaged the country in the vicinity of Rome, leaving the estates of the patricians unhurt The plebeians were unwilling to fight and the senate at length resolved to send ambassadors to Coriolanus to prevail upon him to desist from his hostile acts towards his country But they were haughtily received and sent back with a scornful answer A second embassy was not admitted into the camp and it was even in vain that the priests, attired in their sacred robes, went to him as suppliants At length his mother Veturia, and his wife, Volumnia with her two young children, accompanied by many other Roman matrons, proceeded to the camp of Coriolanus What the ambassadors of the senate and the priests of the gods had been unable to effect, was accomplished by the tears and entreaties of the women Coriolanus broke up his camp and led his legions away from the Roman territory Some traditions related that he died immediately after, overwhelmed with shame and repentance, whereas, according to others he continued to live among the Volscians, and died an old man The temple of Fortuna Muliebris was said to have been dedicated in commemoration of the delivery of Rome by the women

It is a remarkable fact that the ancient songs from which the above story of Coriolanus was derived praised him as a just and pious man [12] The whole story seems to be based upon the fact, that Rome and Latium were at one time greatly humbled and reduced to extremities by the Volscians, and that the latter and the Aequians at the cost of the Latins acquired a great increase of power, which they maintained for a long time afterward It is true, the Romans speak only of their own victories over these nations but we never hear of any permanent conquest, while we know that some of the Latin towns continued to be in the hands of the Volscians Much that is untrue in the early his

[12] Dionys viii 62 Liv ii 40

tory of Rome arose from forgeries made to satisfy the national vanity of the Romans who, great as they were, seldom had the courage to own that they had been vanquished

After the withdrawal of Coriolanus, the Volscians and Aequians are said to have returned into the Roman dominions, but as the Aequians refused to acknowledge Attius Tullius as their commander, the two nations became involved in a war, which saved Rome at once from two enemies In the third consulship of Sp Cassius and Proculus Virginius, B C 486, a league was concluded with the Hernicans, on the same terms as that with the Latins, and by the same Sp Cassius who had concluded the alliance with Latium In the year previous to this treaty, the Hernicans are said to have been at war with Rome and to have been conquered. Rome now concluded the treaty, with a view to strengthen herself against the Volscians and Aequians, and henceforth the armies of the Romans, Latins and Hernicans took the field conjointly, and a third of the spoils, and the conquered territory, fell to the lot of each. This plain fact is strangely misrepresented by Livy,[12] who says that two-thirds of the territory of the Hernicans was taken from them—a notion arising from his belief that the treaty was one of peace, and was concluded after a war, but that war is a mere fiction The year of Cassius's third consulship is further remarkable for being the first in which we hear of an agrarian law at Rome A large portion of the public land, that is, land conquered in war, and therefore the property of the populus or patricians, was possessed[14] by private patricians Sp Cassius proposed that this land should be taken from the patricians, and distributed among the plebeians, who were yet without landed property, and who had a claim to it, since it had been conquered in war with their assistance.[15] His

[12] Liv ii 41 compare Dionys. viii. 77

[14] *Possidere* and *possessio* are technical terms to express the occupation of public land, for the use of which a certain sum was to be paid to the republic

[15] This is Livy's account, who adds, that Cassius also intended to distribute the territory taken from the Hernicans in equal portions between the plebeians and Latins. Others state that he intended to parcel out the whole of the ager publicus among the Romans and the citizens of the two allied states. Dionys. viii 77

colleague and all the patricians who were possessors of the public domain opposed his scheme with all their might It is surprising to find that the plebeians, who were to be benefited by his measure, did not support him as much as might have been expected but this lukewarmness may perhaps have arisen from jealousy because he intended to confer the same benefit upon the two allied states However the law was enacted though many years elapsed before the patricians could be induced to allow it to be carried into effect When the year of his consulship was over, Sp Cassius was impeached by the quaestors before the assembly of the curiae which being at once his enemy and his judge condemned him to death He was beheaded in B C 485 his house was destroyed and the ground on which it had stood was cursed Sp Cassius must have been a great man for he had been three consul he had celebrated three triumphs, and concluded the treaties with the Latins and Hernicans his enemies themselves must have felt that they had outraged the feelings of humanity by his execution and for the purpose of excusing themselves a report was spread, that he had aimed at making himself king of Rome The selfishness crimes and tyranny of the patricians succeeded for the present in preventing the agrarian law from being carried into effect but the tribunes watchful of the interests of their order had become aware of the importance of the law and repeatedly demanded its execution In B C 481, the tribune Icilius made an unsuccessful attempt and in B C 473 the tribune Genucius who arraigned the consuls before the commonalty for delaying to carry the law into effect was assassinated by the patricians who thus tried to intimidate other tribunes and deter them from further attempts but all was of no avail, the greediness of the nobles was thwarted by the persevering energy of the plebeians

It is a singular phenomenon that for a period of seven years from B C 485 to B C 479 one of the places in the consulship was always filled by a member of the Fabian *gens* *It* seems scarcely possible that this should have been a mere accident, and

it was perhaps an attempt of the old patrician gentes to establish an oligarchy, but the attempt failed for the minor patricians felt themselves disregarded and neglected and for a time appear to have made common cause with the plebeians The oppression practised upon the latter by the patricians of the major gentes and the remembrance of the ignominious death of Sp Cassius raised up bold men among the plebeians who demanded the *execution of the Cassian agrarian law* *In order to avert the* threatening danger the patricians stirred up wars The Fabii were at first at the head of the high aristocracy and Q Fabius after having defeated the Aequians and Volscians in B C 485 refused to allow the soldiers any share in the booty which was sold and the proceeds put into the public treasury *In* the year after an attempt was made to restore the right of electing magistrates to the curiae and to leave to the comitia of the centuries nothing but the pleasure of doing homage to the persons elected whereby the plebeians would have been excluded from exercising any influence upon the elections The attempt succeeded for two years and the men thus raised to the consulship were such as were most odious to the plebeians The latter at last displayed a most resolute obstinacy and refused to serve in the wars that had been kindled by the patricians The men were compelled to march into the field but they were determined not to gain laurels for their commanders and the consuls derided by their soldiers returned home without victory The hatred of the plebeians was redoubled and it would seem that the patricians of the major gentes formed a reconciliation with those of the minor gentes for henceforth both again appear equally hostile to the plebeians When the senate tried to raise the blood thirsty App Claudius to the consulship the tribunes and the whole community as one man, opposed the illegal proceeding and enforced the election by the centuries C Julius and Q. Fabius accordingly were elected for the year B C 482 but after that time and down to the decemvirate one consul was invariably and sometimes both, elected by the curiae on the proposal of the

senate the centuries elected the other, who was treated as an inferior officer, and was merely given to the first as his assistant After the ridiculous campaign of Q Fabius, the Fabii seem to have felt that it was a wretched honour to command over men who would not gain victories, and they resolved to make friends with the commonalty[16] M Fabius, in B C 480, gained the good will of the plebeians The soldiers followed his summons to a war against the Etruscans, and promised obedience His brother Quintus fell in battle Marcus won the favour of the plebeians still more, by the great care he took of the men who were wounded, and henceforth the Fabii were the favourites of the plebeians Kaeso Fabius, who was consul a third time in B C 479, immediately proposed that the lands taken in war should be distributed in equal portions among the plebeians, "for it is but just," said he, 'that those should have it by whose sweat and blood it has been gained' but this same man had before been one of those who had condemned Sp Cassius to death for having proposed the same thing The patricians naturally treated him as an apostate and reviled him as infinitely more deserving of punishment than a plebeian tribune, but the plebeians were all the more anxious to show their attachment to him with their assistance he drove the Aequians back into their country, and speedily returning he saved his colleague who was on the point of being defeated by the Veientines

After this victory, a fresh trial was made to bring about a reconciliation between the two estates but it failed and the Fabia gens now offered to the senate to carry on the protracted war against Veii at its own expense This strange offer can be accounted for only by the supposition that the Fabii owing to their conduct towards the plebeians had fallen out with their brother patricians, and that they now proposed to emigrate, in order to avoid an open rupture The senate gladly accepted the offer and the Fabii 306 in number, with a host of 4000 clients, emigrated, and took up a strong position on the banks of the

[16] Liv ii 47

river Cremera. One member alone of the family remained at Rome, and there continued the race of the Fabii. This emigration of the Fabii was the theme of ancient songs among the Romans, and the detail of their history must be viewed accordingly. The war against Veii had been kindled by the patricians in B.C. 483, and as the Fabii were then at the head of the aristocracy, they had undoubtedly been the foremost to stir it up, but they had to pay dearly for their sin. We have already mentioned that the troops under K. Fabius would not fight, and abandoned their camp to the enemy, an act which was followed by all the consequences of a defeat. The Etruscans, at the height of their power, aimed at nothing short of the entire subjugation of Rome, but during the campaign of M. Fabius, the honour of the Roman name was restored, though not without great losses, for his colleague Cn. Manlius, and his brother Q. Fabius were among the slain. The Aequians and Volscians were at the same time harassing and annoying the Latins, and the troops, whom Rome was obliged to send to their relief, diminished the army engaged against the Veientines so much that it would have been completely overpowered, had not K. Fabius, in B.C. 479, quickly come to its assistance.

The Fabian emigrants gained repeated victories over the enemy, but their success rendered them less cautious than they ought to have been, and on one occasion the Etruscans, who lay in ambush, fell upon them and massacred them all although the consul, T. Menenius, was not far distant, and might have saved them. This happened in B.C. 477, but the particular circumstances under which the Fabii fell were described in different ways in the poetical traditions [7] thus much, however, seems clear, that the Fabii were sacrificed by the neglect of the consul Menenius, who himself was attacked by the Etruscans immediately after, and defeated. Shortly after the Etruscans ravaged the country, and ranged as far as the Janiculum from which fortress the Romans were obliged to withdraw their garrison. Rome itself was be-

[7] IV. 43. 50. Dionys. ix. 19. Ovid. *Fast.* II. 195. &c.

sieged, but was saved by the arrival of C Horatius from his Volscian campaign For a while the Etruscans were satisfied with laying waste the country about Rome, which was suffering from want of provisions, for the city was crowded with fugitives from all parts of the country, and no supplies could be carried into it The consuls, A Virginius and Sp Servilius (B C 476), at length ventured to cross the Tiber, to try to recover the Janiculum by storm, but they were repulsed, and would have been driven into the river, had not the brave Virginius attacked the enemy in the rear The Etruscans fled during the night, and a truce was concluded with them for a short period, and when, in the year following, the consul Valerius had defeated the Veientines close by the gates of Veii, peace was concluded for a period of forty years

During the truce with the Etruscans, two of the tribunes impeached T Menenius for having neglected to save the Fabii on the Cremera He was fined, and although the punishment was anything but severe, he is said to have shut himself up in his house, and to have died of grief Henceforth tribunician impeachments occur almost every year Thus in B C 475, C Servilius was charged with having recklessly sacrificed the lives of citizens in the attack on the Janiculum, but was acquitted, and in B C 473, the tribune Genucius summoned the consuls of the preceding year, because they had refused to carry into effect the agrarian law of Sp Cassius, but in order to get rid of this determinate friend of the plebs, the patricians caused his assassination in his own house The plebeians fled in dismay, and prepared to defend themselves by force, but as the other tribunes remained in cowardly silence at the outrage, the consuls immediately began a general levy, and they might perhaps have accomplished it, had it not been for the insult they offered to Publilius Volero He had before served in the army as a centurio, and being now called to serve as a common soldier, he refused The consuls resolved to make an example of him, and sent out the lictors with orders to seize and scourge him in the presence of

the tribunes, but Volero, who was a strong and robust man, dashed the lictors away, and escaped into a thick crowd of plebeians, who overpowered and maltreated the lictors in their attempt to disperse the people The levy was abandoned, and the tumult subsided, but Publilius Volero had become the darling of the plebeians, and was elected one of the tribunes for the year following, B C. 472 He scorned to impeach the consuls for the personal wrong he had suffered, but exerted his power in a manner from which the whole order of the plebeians might derive substantial advantages He brought a proposal before the commonalty, that henceforth the tribunes should be elected in the comitia of the tribes, instead of those of the centuries We must observe that by this time the curiae appear to have lost the right of sanctioning a tribune elect, for if they had still had that right, they would hardly have sanctioned the election of a man like Volero This proposal was opposed by the patricians in all possible ways, and even two of the colleagues of the tribune were prevailed upon to side with the nobles His two other colleagues, however, stood by him, so that he could bring his propos t on to the vote The utmost efforts were made to prevent the commonalty from arriving at a decision upon the question, and the delay thus caused rendered it impossible to come to a resolution during that year But Publilius Volero was again elected tribune for the year following, and brought forward fresh propositions in conjunction with his colleague, C Laetorius. The first was, that the plebeian aediles also should be elected in the assembly of the tribes, the second that on the proposal of a tribune, the assembly of the tribes should be entitled to deliberate and pass resolutions (*plebiscita*) on all matters affecting the welfare of the whole nation, for hitherto their deliberations had been confined to matters relating to their own order By this measure it was intended that the tribes should occupy the place of the centuries, which had lost the power granted to them by king Servius Tullius, and were convened only to adopt or reject measures which had been passed by

the curiae A resolution of the plebs on these subjects was indeed no more than a resolution passed at any public meeting in England and was not binding as law but might easily become law expressing as it did the opinion of the whole body of plebeians who were certainly not inferior in number to the patricians

Amid the excitement caused by these proposals, the senate had appointed App Claudius Regillensis to the consulship, expecting that with the haughty stubbornness of his family, he would be able to prevent the plebs passing the resolutions, but the centuries gave him a colleague of a gentler disposition, in the person of T Quinctius At length when C Laetorius a bolder and more vehement person than Volero tried to put the matter to the vote a fearful scene took place The patricians assembled in great numbers and with hosts of their clients about the forum endeavoured to disturb the proceedings of the plebeians The messengers of the tribunes called upon them to withdraw and tried to compel the refractory but they were hooted and scorned and App Claudius sent his lictors to seize Laetorius who at the same time despatched some of his men to arrest the consul The plebeians rushing forth to defend their tribune put the patricians to flight The plebeians exhorted to moderation by T Quinctius followed the fugitives and occupied the Capitol with armed men The senate becoming convinced that force could do nothing praised Quinctius for his conduct and the proposals of Publilius Volero and C Laetorius were carried and sanctioned as law by the senate which saw no other way of getting out of its difficulties

The carrying of these resolutions (*lex Publilia*) was of incalculable advantage to the plebeians for in the first place there now was a law which had been originated by a tribune and the assembly of the plebs a thing which had never been heard of before but might serve as a precedent for others and in the second it secured to the plebeians the right of electing their own magistrates and to pass *plebiscita* or resolutions upon all ques

tions of public interest such resolutions being the declared will of the plebs, necessarily exercised a great influence, until after a time they acquired the force of laws binding upon the whole nation. Life and motion were thus awakened in the constitution, and the whole republic was benefited But App Claudius, who had been chosen by his own order to defy the plebeians, and had then been deserted by them, burnt with indignation. He was called upon to levy an army against the Aequians and Volscians, who must have been a real scourge to the Roman allies The soldiers were enlisted, but were determined that he should not gain victories by them, while his mind was wholly set upon devising means of driving the soldiers to despair When the troops met the Volscians, they heard a report that the consul intended to betray them to the enemy, and as it was readily believed, they fled back to their camp, whither they were followed by the Volscians Appius convoked the soldiers of the infantry to assemble without their arms, but suspecting that, with the assistance of the equites and the allies, he intended to massacre them, they refused to lay aside their arms Thus compelled Appius to desist from his scheme The suspicion of another plot to betray his troops to the Volscians induced them to desert their standards they fled in a tumultuous manner till they reached the Roman territory Thus they had been driven to an act of high treason against the republic Appius followed the soldiers, and held a court martial over them the centurions who had deserted their standards and every tenth soldier, were beheaded

When the year of his office had come to its close, the tribunes impeached him capitally before the commonalty He assailed the tribunes with scorn and abuse his accusers postponed the day of trial, that he might have an opportunity of withdrawing into exile, but in the night before the day on which the trial was to come on, App Claudius died It is said that he made away with himself, but if so, his family kept it secret, that his body might not be deprived of an honourable burial Repeated

attempts were made about the same time to carry into effect the agrarian law of Cassius, but in vain it is said that the indignation of the plebeians rose at last to such a pitch, that they refused taking part in the election of the one consul, and that, consequently, the consuls of the year B C 468 were elected by the patricians and their clients This account probably means that the plebeians refused to sanction the consul who had been elected by the curiae, and that the patricians were satisfied with seeing him confirmed by the centuries, at which they themselves and their clients only took part, for the refusal to take part in the election of the other consul would have been childish, and could not have been otherwise than most agreeable to the patricians

A successful campaign against the Volscians, and the taking of Antium, for a time soothed the animosity of the two parties The consul, Tib Aemilius, repeatedly recommended the execution of the Cassian law, and it would seem that at length it was, at least to some extent, carried into effect, or that a compromise was made with the plebeians, for henceforth we hear no more complaints about it for some years

During the period of these internal commotions, wars had been carried on against the Volscians and Aequians Antium had been taken, but did not remain long in the possession of the Romans, for it was lost again in B C 459 In the third campaign, B C 465, two consular armies marched out against the Aequians, who had pitched their camp on Mount Algidus While the Romans and Aequians were encamped on those woody hills, in face of each other, separate bodies of the latter made predatory excursions into the plain, and even penetrated into the vicinity of Rome. In the year following, the town of Ecetra also declared war against Rome, which had made all the preparations required for the occasion its walls were strongly garrisoned, and the gates well guarded, but the consuls in the field could do nothing and were in the greatest danger Thousands of country people had taken refuge with their cattle within the walls of the city, it was in the heat of summer, the scantiness of food,

together with the crowded state of the population, brought about epidemic diseases, which attacked both men and beasts, and in B C 463 a real pestilence began its ravages Thousands were carried off by it, and every house in the city suffered more or less During this distress, the allies called for protection, and the Volscians, uniting with the Aequians, pitched their camp at a distance of no more than three miles from the Esquiline gate. But the enemy made no attempt to take the city, perhaps only from fear of the contagion They soon broke up their camp, and ransacked every corner of Latium, where they could find or expect booty A weak army of the Latins and Hernicans at length risked a battle, but they were defeated with great slaughter The consequences of this, as of other military reverses are not mentioned by the Roman historians, who, in the very next year, represent Rome as again victorious, but it is evident that the spreading of the plague rendered it desirable for all parties to abstain from war, the cessation from which was in all probability owing more to the ravages of the pestilence than to any victory of the Romans For two years we hear no more of a war with the Volscians

The Aequians had concluded peace with Rome, but their commander, Gracchus Cloelius nevertheless led his troops again to Mount Algidus In B C 458, the consul L Minucius was defeated in those mountains by the Aequians, who then besieged him in his camp His colleague was engaged against the Sabines, who continually made inroads into the Roman territory, but Minucius was rescued by succour from Rome This plain fact seems to be the substance of the legend of L Quinctius Cincinnatus, for it is impossible to consider the accounts about Cincinnatus in any other light than those of a poetical tale The senate resolved, so runs the story, to appoint a dictator to extricate the republic from the threatening danger, and no man was thought more capable of doing it, and of rescuing Minucius from his unfortunate position, than L Quinctius Cincinnatus The messengers of the senate, who brought him the dictatorship

found him and his wife Racilia engaged in rustic pursuits on his little estate on the other side of the Tiber When he had put on his toga to receive the message of the senate, they saluted him as dictator and conducted him to Rome He immediately ordered that every one capable of bearing arms should be enlisted All obeyed, and in three days he marched with a numerous army to Mount Algidus which he reached at midnight The Roman camp was still surrounded by the enemy Cincinnatus made his soldiers form a circle round the Aequians, and having given a signal to Minucius that succour had come, the Romans burst forth from their camp The fight lasted till daybreak when the Aequians, to their utter dismay, perceived that they were surrounded They implored the Roman dictator that he would not destroy them Cincinnatus ordered Gracchus Cloelius and his lieutenants to be put in chains the rest were obliged to lay down their arms before their conqueror and were disgraced by being compelled to pass under the yoke The town of Corbio and the camp with all that it contained, fell into the hands of the victors Cincinnatus returned to Rome in triumph, and was rewarded with a golden crown Minucius had no share either in the booty or the triumph Cincinnatus laid down his dictatorship with which he had been invested only sixteen days, and returned to his farm The danger of Minucius and his delivery by Cincinnatus were the subject of a beautiful poem the substance of which is contained in the ordinary accounts of which the above is only an outline[18] The Aequians were thus defeated but the war was not yet at an end it continued with varying success until the battle near Corbio in B C 446 weakened the Aequians so much that they were for a time unable again to take up arms against Rome

The plague by which Rome was visited during this period must have made fearful havoc among the people and many of the patrician families must have been completely swept away This

[18] Dionysius has reduced the story to something which looks like real history but is still very far from it

calamity was followed as usual by a considerable degree of demoralisation The calamity itself was increased by great reverses in war, and by numerous acts of oppression and injustice which the magistrates committed against the plebeians and which led to new agitations on the part of the tribunes In B C 462, while the legions were in the field, the tribune C Terentillus Arsa brought before the commonalty a proposal, the object of which was to place the two estates as nearly as possible on a footing of equality The consuls hitherto had exercised their authority not according to any written rule, but acted according to hereditary usage *and their own discretion and had frequently been guilty of* acts of flagrant injustice With the view of restraining the power of the consuls Terentillus proposed that five men should be appointed to frame a code of laws for all classes of Roman citizens [19] This plan of his shocked many prejudices, and called forth the most passionate resistance of the ruling party The bill was passed by the tribes but rejected by the senate and the curiae The next year the bill perhaps with more extensive demands than at first was brought forward again by the tribune A Virginius The patricians had recourse to their usual tricks they disturbed and annoyed the proceedings of the commonalty Their leader was Kaeso Quinctius the son of L. Quinctius Cincinnatus a proud young man and full of contempt for the plebeians whom he *maltreated and insulted more* than any other of his brother patricians The tribunes however, held together as one man and the plebeians were ready to support them at all hazards They brought a capital charge against K. Quinctius, for having violated the sacred person of a tribune The patricians implored forgiveness for their champion and it would perhaps have been granted, had not an outrage come to light which he had committed some time before against an aged and sick man, who had died in consequence of the ill treatment he had received at the hands of the

[19] Zonaras, vii 23, Liv iii 9 Dionys. x. 50 The laws ascribed to the kings had been collected by Papirius (*jus Papirianum*) long before what was now wanted was an equality of laws for both estates

haughty young aristocrat The friends of the deceased man had never been able to get the case investigated by the consuls This unexpected piece of news enraged the assembly to such a degree, that the people would at once have cut down the offender if the tribunes had not interfered K Quinctius escaped into Etruria, and his friends had to pay the sureties which they had given for him

Some of the patricians were intimidated by these occurrences, and were inclined to give way, but others continued their vehement opposition, while in secret they endeavoured to win the favour of the plebs by acts of kindness and flattery such unusual conduct, however, of the patricians created suspicion, and a report was spread that K Quinctius was at the head of a conspiracy to murder all the leading men of the plebeians This threw the people into a state of alarm and uneasiness One night they were awakened from their sleep by a war shout from the Capitol A band of 4000 exiles and run away slaves under the guidance of the Sabine Appius Herdonius, had, in the night, taken possession of the Capitol, and there was sufficient reason for believing that this was part of the plot said to have been formed by K Quinctius The consuls manned the walls and gates of the city, in case of any attack from without, and all persons bound to serve in the army were called upon to take up arms but the plebeians refused taking the military oath which would have compelled them to yield a blind obedience to the commands of the consuls, until P Valerius, one of the consuls, interfered, solemnly promising that the voting of the tribes should be no further disturbed, and pledging himself that the bill of Terentillus, if it were passed by the commonalty, should be sanctioned and made law Hereupon the soldiers took their oath, and the Capitol was taken by storm P Valerius himself, and a great many others, fell during the assault but the exiles were overpowered and those who fell into the hands of their conquerors were put to the sword K Quinctius was believed to have been

among them and to have been killed this opinion is supported by an expression of Livy,[70] who says that he was irrecoverably lost to his friends and the republic

After the danger was removed the tribunes called upon App Claudius to redeem the pledge of his late colleague P Valerius But he declared that he could not act by himself and caused the haughty L. Quinctius Cincinnatus the same who two years later, delivered Minucius from the Aequans to be raised to the consulship by the senate and curiae The most outrageous plans were now formed not only to prevent the commonalty from passing the bill of Terentillus but even to reduce them to that state of dependence in which they had been previous to the secession to the Sacred Mount But even the very hardiest among the patricians now felt that they must abandon such schemes and they prevailed upon the plebs to let the bill be dormant for a year The determination of the plebeians however was manifest from the fact of their re-electing the tribunes of B C 461 for five successive years During the sort of truce now established between the two orders many of the leading plebeians were secretly assassinated [1] but such acts of violence rendered the plebeians only the more stout and resolute in their demands In B C 457 the number of tribunes was raised from five to ten two being taken from each of the classes [2] probably because the former number was found insufficient to afford the protection which was needed when outrages of every kind were of such frequent occurrence

The increase of the tribunician power became manifest the very year after for the tribune Icilius and his colleagues compelled the consuls to bring a resolution of the plebs before the senate

[70] III 25

[1] Dion Cass. *Excerpt de Sent.* p 151 ed Reimar

[2] Liv III 30 Dionys X 30 They who believe that a tribune as early as this time, had power to stop the proceedings of all his colleagues by his veto are forced to say that the increase in the number of the tribunes was a concess on only to the patricians, who must have found it easier to gain over one out of ten, than one out of five

and to allow the tribunes to defend it The object of this bill, which was passed, was, that the Aventine should be assigned to the plebeians A part of that hill had been assigned to them as early as the time of king Ancus Marcius, but from the law of Icilius we must conclude that there still were parts of the Aventine which were public land, and had not yet been assigned. These parts were occupied by patricians, who had built houses there which they let to plebeians The patricians were indemnified for those houses, and the ground, with the buildings upon it, was distributed for dwelling places among the plebeians Henceforth the plebeians are in the exclusive possession of the strong suburb on the Aventine In B C 454, another great step was gained, by a law carried by the consuls, Sp Tarpeius and A Aternius, which limited the fines to be inflicted upon a plebeian, the maximum being two sheep and thirty beeves [23]

The bill of Terentilius Arsa appears to have been forgotten for a number of years, but it was taken up again in B C 454, and the patricians now consented that the laws of the republic should be revised, but at the same time reserved to themselves the right of framing the new code of laws The first step was, to send three senators to Athens, to acquire a knowledge of the constitution of that city, as well as of the laws and institutions of other states The account of this embassy to Greece has been doubted by modern writers, on account of the wide difference between that legislation which was the result of this embassy, and the institutions of Athens and other Greek states But we should remember that they did not go out with a view to *adopt* the laws of a foreign country their object unquestionably was no other than to acquire a knowledge of the working of the laws, and of the principles on which they were based, and surely any legislator, to whatever country he belonged, might derive wholesome and instructive information from the constitutions of the

[23] Dionys. x 50, ludicrously says, two oxen and thirty sheep. Comp. Festus, s v peculatus.

Greek states although it might not be his intention to copy a single law The remains of ancient theatres, and works of art which are found in Latium and Etruria show incontestably, that the Romans of that time were sufficiently acquainted with the arts and literature of Greece to know, that something might be learned there which they could turn to their own advantage

bring any new bills before the plebeian assembly. It would, in fact, have been a most inconsiderate and foolish forbearance on the part of the plebeians, to give up the only safeguard they had against patrician aggrandisement, and this at a time when ten patricians were invested with the supreme power.

The object of the new legislation was to establish a unity between the two estates, which had hitherto existed independently of each other, and to embody in the new code such of the earlier laws and customs as would not disturb the intended unity. As, however, all the ten places in the decemvirate were occupied by patricians, it may easily be imagined, that but little was done to improve the condition of the plebeians; that on the contrary, the oligarchy did all it could to establish its power more firmly.

We are told, however, that the decemvirs acted in perfect harmony among themselves, and were just towards the people; nay, that they managed the affairs of the republic so well during the year of their office, that all classes of citizens were satisfied with their administration. They are said to have availed themselves of the assistance of Hermodorus of Ephesus,[2] in the drawing up of their new code of laws, which embraced ancient Roman and Italian customs, laws promulgated by the kings, and others, which were either entirely new, or derived from Greece proper and the Greek states in southern Italy. The peace of the republic was not disturbed by any foreign enemy, and when the year came to its close, the decemvirs had completed their code of laws; which laws, after they had received the sanction of the senate, the centuries, and curiae, were engraved upon ten tables of brass, and set up in the comitium, that everybody might be able to read them.

These laws henceforth continued to be the basis of all civil and criminal legislature among the Romans, down to the time of the emperors. Some persons however were of opinion that the new code, though in itself very excellent, was not complete, and that the addition of two more tables would make it as complete

[2] Diogen. Laert. ix. 2; Cic. *Tusc.* v. 36, Plin. *Hist. Nat.* xxxiv. 5.

refuge at Tusculum The city of Rome, at whose gates the enemy was expected every moment to appear, was put into a state of defence, while reinforcements were sent out to strengthen the armies of the decemvirs

During this deplorable state of affairs, things happened in the army and at Rome which brought about the end of the tyranny of the decemvirs In the army engaged against the Sabines there was a distinguished plebeian, who had fought with honour in many wars, and was known to be an undaunted opponent of the decemvirs He had even ventured to hold out a threat of another secession of the plebs, and of the re-establishment of the tribuneship In order to get rid of so pertinacious an enemy, his superiors sent him from the camp, accompanied by a number of other soldiers, to view the country, and choose a place for a camp But his companions had secret orders to assassinate him, and when they came to a lonely spot they fell upon him. He was murdered amid a number of the hired assassins, whom he slew in defending himself When his body was found, it was manifest what had occurred, for no one could believe that he had been killed by the Sabines This murder raised the indignation of the soldiers against the decemvirs still more, but the measure of their crimes was not yet full.

About the same time that this occurred in the camp, App. Claudius at Rome cast his lustful eyes on Virginia, a lovely and modest maiden, the daughter of the centurion Virginius, who was at the time with the army App Claudius had her carried off by one of his servile clients, and publicly declared that she was one of his slaves, refusing to listen to the evidence of her betrothed Icilius, or any other witness When after a mock investigation the tyrant was on the point of taking possession of her, Virginius, who had in the mean time come to Rome to protect his child, begged permission to take leave of her and speak a few words to [illegible] in private The request was granted, and the exasperated father, wishing to see his child die before his eyes rather than live dishonoured, snatched a knife from a butcher's

were again despatched as ambassadors to the seceders but with full power to treat with them on any terms they might think proper They were received in the camp with the greatest joy Icilius spoke for the plebeians and demanded the restoration of the tribuneship the right of appeal against any magistrate, and an amnesty for those who had urged the people and the army to the insurrection his last demand was that the decemvirs should be delivered up and suffer death at the stake The ambassadors willingly granted the first points but they thought the punishment of the decemvirs too severe and as they promised the people that they should have the right to impeach every one of them separately the plebeians gave way and trusted to the honesty of the envoys

When the report of these transactions was brought to Rome all further opposition on the part of the patricians ceased and the senate issued an ordinance demanding of the decemvirs to lay down their power in order that consuls might again be elected The new tribunes were to be chosen under the presidency of the chief pontiff The command being obeyed by the decemvirs the seceders returned to Rome and elected their new tribunes The men appointed to the consulship were L Valerius and M. Horatius the stout champions of the people's liberty[5]

Let us now see the result of the decemviral legislation in regard to the constitution There cannot be any doubt that the laws of the twelve tables[6] contained an arrangement by which the whole body of Roman citizens the patricians and their clients as well as the plebeians henceforth became members of the local tribes in which hitherto the plebeians alone had been contained As proofs of this fact we may mention that Appius Claudius in

[5] The account we have here given is the one adopted by most writers but Cicero (*De Re P* ii 37 and in the fragments of the *Cornelians*) gives a different account of his revolution for according to him the seceders first established themselves on the Sacred Mount, and thence proceeded to the Aventine

[6] Some fragments of the laws of the twelve tables have come down to us, and are collected in Dirksen *Uebersicht der bisherigen Versuche zur Kritik und Herstellung der Fragmente der zwölf Tafeln*, Leipzig 1824 8vo.

the very year of the abolition of the decemvirate, is represented as appealing to the assembly of the tribes,[7] in B C 433, the censors punished Marc Aemilius by striking his name off the list of his tribe,[8] and in B C 392, the patricians are described as imploring their fellow tribesmen to vote against the projected settlement at Veii.[9] Many more instances belonging to a later time might be mentioned, in which the patricians are described as members of the local tribes.[10] The assembly of the tribes therefore, now became a great national assembly for legislative purposes but the measures passed by it still required the sanction of the curiae it had also the election of all minor magistrates, as the aediles, quaestors and tribunes, and was at the same time the high court of appeal The assembly of the centuries on the other hand, retained the election of the high magistrates the decision upon peace and war, and the privilege of acting as a court of justice in certain cases The advantages, however which the plebeians derived from this new arrangement were very insignificant, and in the civil part of the new legislature many of the severe and exclusive laws and customs of former times were sanctioned as for example, the severe law of debt and the one declaring marriages between a patrician and a plebeian illegal.[11] The highest magistracy remained as before inaccessible to the plebeians nor was there any law to entitle them to a share in the conquered lands which became the property of the state The study of the laws of the twelve tables so far as they have come down to us is extremely instructive in regard to the manners and the state of feeling among the Romans of those times A father for instance was permitted to sell his son thrice other laws however show great wisdom and sound

[7] Liv iii. 56
[8] Liv iv 24
[9] Liv v 30
[10] The three ancient Romulian tribes, the Ramnes, Titles, and Luceres, had *now become practically useless, and fell* into oblivion The distinction between the *gentes majores* and *minores* likewise begins to disappear after this time,
[11] These and many other laws of a similar kind were probably contained in the last two tables, which Cicero (*De Re Publ* ii. 37) calls *unjust* while he praises the other ten tables for their justice and fairness

political principles Their interfering so much with the affairs of private life, is a feature which the Roman laws have in common with those of all other ancient states, for the ancients thought it the duty of a state to take care that all the members of the community should become good citizens in every respect

The men who had deserved the greatest honour during the late troubles, and who had been rewarded with the consulship, did not disappoint the hopes of the plebeians For the purpose of securing the rights of the plebeians, they revived the old laws respecting the inviolability of the tribunes—that no magistrate should ever be appointed from whose sentence an appeal was not left open, and that any person acting contrary to this should be outlawed. As the assembly of the tribes now contained both the patricians and plebeians, the consuls got a new law passed by the centuries, ordaining that any measure passed by the assembly of the tribes should have the same force as one passed by the centuries,[21] so that, if such a measure received the sanction of the curiae, it became law for the whole nation, just as one proposed by the consuls and passed by the centuries The consuls, L Valerius and M. Horatius further enacted that the ordinances of the senate should henceforth be deposited in the archives of the temple of Ceres and be kept there by the plebeian aediles The tribune, M Duilius, also carried a plebiscitum, that any one who should cause the plebeians to be without their tribunes, or should appoint a magistrate without the right of appeal from his sentence, should be scourged and put to death, or, according to others be burnt at the stake [22]

The freedom of the plebeians appearing now to be firmly established, the tribunes summoned the late decemvirs one by one before the court of the plebeians App Claudius was thrown into prison, and died probably by his own hand, before the day of his trial, his colleague Sp Appius perished in the same

[21] Dionys. xi 45 Livy's statement, *ut quod tributim plebs jussisset populum teneret* seems to be incomplete and to require the addition, "if sanctioned by the curiae" for the sanction was also required for all measures passed by the centuries.

[22] Liv iii. 55 Diod. xii. 26

manner, and the remaining eight were found guilty, but were allowed to go into exile and their property was confiscated All who had been accomplices of the decemvirs dreaded a similar fate, but the tribune Duilius would not allow any further impeachments for crimes committed during the rule of the decemvirs This moderation allayed the fears of the patricians, but as they began to feel secure, they also began to feel exasperated at having been frightened, and they took the first opportunity of showing a mean spirit of revenge

When the internal affairs of the republic were settled, Valerius led an army against the Aequians and Volscians, who were encamped on Mount Algidus, and after a glorious fight the enemy's camp fell into his hands The report of this victory filled the Romans with joy, and gave to the army engaged under Horatius against the Sabines confidence and courage The Sabines were routed, and their camp was abandoned to the Romans That day put an end to the wars of the Sabines, of which henceforth we hear no more for a period of 130 years Both consuls had deserved a triumph, but the senate refused to grant it, and treated the victorious consuls as men who had betrayed the interests of their own order to the plebeians But the tribune Icilius brought the matter before the assembly, and the consuls celebrated their triumph without an ordinance of the senate, on the mere resolution of the people,[14] a thing which had never been done before

The confidence which the people had in their tribunes and consuls made them desire to have the same persons re elected for the next year, but the wisdom and moderation both of the tribunes and consuls opposed this scheme new officers were elected, and among the tribunes of B C 448 there were even two patricians, some of the others also were devoted to the cause of the patricians From this we see that the patricians who now

[14] After the decemviral legislation we may apply the term *people* to all the Romans, as contained in the tribes, and as contradistinguished from the senate.

were members of the tribes, naturally wanted to be represented in the tribuneship

For some time the more haughty and vehement among the patricians annoyed the plebeians in a variety of ways but a perfect equality of the two orders became more and more distinctly the goal towards which all efforts of the tribunes were directed. In B C 445, the tribune C Canuleius brought forward a bill demanding the establishment of the *connubium* between the two estates, and his nine colleagues proposed another, enacting that henceforth one of the consuls should always be a plebeian The discussion of these bills called forth the bitterest exasperation on both sides the patricians attempted to prevent their being passed by causing a levy to be made against the Veientines, Aequians, and Volscians, but C Canuleius, with the utmost determination, refused to allow the levy to be made before the plebs had voted on the bills which had been brought before them the patricians at length gave way, and allowed the bill respecting the connubium to be passed, hoping that the plebeians would thus be satisfied, and give up the one respecting the division of the consulship, or at least defer the debates upon it till after the war In order to understand why the patricians gave way, with comparatively little resistance, to the bill of Canuleius, we must remember that although the connubium did not exist between the two orders, marriages nevertheless were frequently contracted, and as the children sprung from such marriages always followed the baser side, we may presume that they became the bitterest enemies of the patricians the latter also must have been aware that through their exclusive spirit their families became daily more reduced in numbers while those of the plebeians were ever on the increase, and threatened to overwhelm them in the end by their numerical superiority The bill respecting the division of the consulship was modified in such a manner that in future, military tribunes, with consular power (*tribuni militares consulari potestate*), should be elected indiscriminately from both orders It was however, left to the option of the

senate to determine whether, in any given year, consuls or consular tribunes should be appointed The dignity of a consular tribune being inferior to that of a consul, as he was not elected under the same solemn auspices, the patricians in this manner contrived still to retain the exclusive possession of the consulship The consular tribunes accordingly were elected for the year B C 444, but as might be expected, all of them were patricians, and the plebeians were satisfied with having acquired the right to a share in the new office, without insisting upon exercising it After the lapse of three months, however, the consular tribunes were obliged to lay down their office, on account of some flaw in the election, and consuls were appointed in their stead [11]

As the consular tribuneship was thus thrown open to the plebeians, and it became evident that the consulship could not be withheld from them much longer, the patricians, in B C 443, deprived the consulship of a branch of its power, which they expressly reserved for themselves, under the title of the censorship The duties of the two censors, who were at first taken only from among those who had been consuls, were to conduct the census, to register the citizens according to their classes and tribes, and to administer the property and revenue of the republic Their office was apparently of not much consequence, but as they had it in their power to determine the rank of every citizen, to fix his status in society, and to value his taxable property at their own discretion, the office could not fail to become a very powerful one in the hands of energetic persons in the end it became almost a despotic power, which was looked upon with hatred, though everybody saw its necessity As the census was held every five years, the first censors were in-

[11] It is a curious fact, that the number of the consular tribunes does not appear to have been fixed at first we find three, afterwards four, and at last, from B C 405 down to the time of the Licinian law there never were less than six, and in a few cases eight, the two censors being included among them. No satisfactory explanation has yet been given of these changing numbers.

vested with their office for the same period, but in B C 434, dictator, Mam. Aemilius, reduced the duration of the offic eighteen months so that in every lustrum there were three y and a half during which time there were no censors Ha thus secured to themselves one important branch of the sular power, the patricians might be the less concerned about plebeians taking part in the consulship, besides, they knew in most cases they could manage the elections in such a mar as to exclude the plebeian candidates

But whatever schemes the patricians might resort to, in or to maintain their exclusive rights, the distinction between the orders was gradually beginning to vanish the personal or fan relations between the members of the two estates also ten to soften down the disputes which arose between them for a time peace prevailed at Rome New commotions ar in B C 440 in consequence of a famine, which was raging Rome so furiously that many poor citizens sought relief in s destruction. The government appointed L. Minucius praefect the corn market (*praefectus annonae*) but his endeavours to l

hail to expect, Maelius snatched away a butcher's knife to defend himself, and ran into the crowd, which received and protected him Servilius Ahala, accompanied by a band of patrician youths, pursued and slew him, the people being intimidated, and afraid to resist the command of the dictator The charges, which were brought against Sp Maelius only by vague report, were never proved he fell a victim to party animosity, in broad daylight, and in the midst of the forum His house was pulled down, and the supplies of corn, which are said to have been found in it, were sold by L Minucius at one *as* per modius Cicero, and other writers of a later age, hold up Ahala as a model of heroic virtue, but his contemporaries judged otherwise he was accused of murder before the people, and escaped condemnation only by voluntary exile [16] Had the plebeians still been what they were some years before, a revolution would inevitably have broken out, but all that the commonalty now did was to insist upon the election of consular tribunes, instead of consuls, for the year following, to which the patricians agreed the more readily, as they were able to insure the election of patricians only The plebeians, notwithstanding steadily proceeded towards the goal they had in view and in the period which now followed they acquired several minor advantages, one after another

The Aequians and Volscians had been defeated a second time since the decemvirate in B C 416, and now, after the internal commotions we have just mentioned the second war against Veii broke out It was occasioned, like the first by the revolt of Fidenae, in B C 438 This town had been subdued by the Romans in early times, and had received Roman colonists to keep it in submission Frequent but useless attempts had been made from time to time by the Fidenatans to get rid of the Roman settlers, at length, being strengthened by an alliance with Veii and the Faliscans they revolted, and expelled the colonists Three Roman ambassadors were sent to Fidenae, but they were put to death by the command of Lar Tolumnius of Veii The Fidenates

[16] Valer Maxim v 3, 2

annihilated at length in B C 415, the enemy was defeated on Mount Algidus by the dictator A Sempronius Praetus Lavici was taken and received a Roman colony In B C 407, an unsuccessful war was carried on against the Volscians, but Anxur was taken [18]

In the same year the truce with Veii came to its close, and as it was more necessary than ever that the soldiers should be willing to fight the battle of the republic, the senate without any demand on the part of the plebs or its tribunes issued a decree that henceforth the soldiers should receive pay from the public treasury,[19] for hitherto they had been obliged to provide themselves with all that was necessary at their own expense Never had an offer been so joyfully accepted by the people, notwithstanding the suspicions of the tribunes who in vain cautioned them against the deceitful present But the measure was one commanded by necessity, to put an end to the repeated refusals of the plebeians to enlist in the armies, for without a willing army it was impossible for Rome to establish her permanent supremacy over her neighbours or to make conquests at a distance War was now declared against Veii that powerful and wealthy city which had always been to Rome a cause of fear A Roman army began to lay siege to it in B C 405 At first the besieging army always returned home during the winter but when the war had already lasted for several years without any result the Romans resolved to build huts for the winter (*hibernacula*) which should enable them to continue the siege uninterruptedly both winter and summer The war was nevertheless protracted for nine years until in the tenth B C 396, Veii was taken by the dictator M Furius Camillus the greatest general of his age Veii throughout this war received very little support from the other Etruscan towns the cause of which may have been either their jealousy or

[18] The confusion in Livy's accounts of these wars is very great legendary features are mixed up with history and events are frequently misplaced. See Niebuhr *Hist of Rome*, ii p 453 &c

[19] The daily pay of a common soldier according to Polybius vi. 39 consisted of three asses, that of a centurion of six and that of a horse and of nine asses.

their fear of the Gauls who had already crossed the Alps and taken the Etruscan town of Melpum on the north of the Po. Camillus on being raised to the dictatorship, collected all the forces that he could muster, and first led them against the allies of the Veientines he defeated the Capenatans and Faliscans in the neighbourhood of Nepete, and then besieged Veii more closely than ever

So far the account of the war sounds credible enough, but the history of the fall of Veii, in the tenth year, is nothing but a beautiful poetical lay, in which Veii acts the same part as Troy does in the legends of the Trojan war This lay is connected with several others (we may call them the lays of Camillus) they extend from the first appearance of Camillus before Veii to his last victory over the Gauls Their substance is preserved most completely in Plutarch's life of Camillus. The fall of Veii, so the story runs, had been announced by various prodigies the most remarkable among which was the rising of the water of the Alban lake without any visible cause and that to such a height, that it deluged all the neighbouring country An embassy was sent to Delphi, to consult the oracle about this extraordinary spectacle In the meantime an Etruscan soothsayer had been ensnared by a Roman centurion and carried to Rome, where he confessed that the Veientine books of fate announced, that Veii could not be taken so long as the Alban lake overflowed the country and that Rome should perish if its waters reached the sea. Soon after this the ambassadors returned from Delphi, and their answer was to the same effect Hereupon the Romans began making a tunnel to prevent the overflow of the water and to conduct it through the fields in ditches The work was carried on with great vigour, and when its completion was near at hand the Veientines were informed of it Ambassadors now came from Veii, imploring the Romans to forbear but in vain and on leaving the senate house they declared, that the same oracles which predicted the fall of Veii also foretold, that soon after Rome herself should be taken by the Gauls. A portion of

the Roman army, engaged in the siege of Veii was in the meantime actively employed in digging a subterraneous passage, which led to the citadel of Veii, and was to issue in the temple of Juno [29] As the day approached on which Veii was to fall, the senate decreed that the booty taken should be distributed among all those Romans who wished to partake of it and would proceed to the camp Hosts of people, old and young, now flocked from Rome to the devoted city When the water of the Alban lake was led into the fields, and when all the preparations for an assault were made, Camillus, having promised rich rewards to the gods, and leading some cohorts himself, entered the subterraneous passage at the same time an assault was made upon the city The king of Veii happened to be offering a sacrifice in the temple of Juno and the priest declared that whoever should bring the goddess her share of the victim should conquer These words were heard by Romans under ground and on the instant, they burst forth and offered the sacrifice this being done, they rushed through the city to open the gates to their comrades

Thus Veii fell into the hands of the Romans The amount of spoil surpassed even the expectation of the conquerors The whole was given up to the army except the captives who were sold on account of the republic The statue of Juno is said to have followed the conquerors to Rome of her own accord and a temple was erected to her on the Aventine Elated by his victory Camillus celebrated a most splendid triumph but his unexampled and pompous display excited the anger of the gods and the time was not far distant when he had to atone for it by exile and Rome by her destruction by the Gauls He had vowed the tenth of the spoil to the Delphic god, which was sent in the shape of a golden bowl eight talents in weight

[29] The story about this passage is wholly incredible It may have arisen out of the account of the tunnel of the Alban lake which the legend connects with the taking of Veii and of which remnants are to be seen at this day, although it is doubtful whether its construction actually belongs to the time which the legend assigns to it.

known, had already spent what they had acquired, and had therefore to stint themselves of what they wanted to make good his vow He was, moreover, foremost among those patricians who opposed the proposition that the plebeians should have a share in the distribution of the Veientine territory The consequence of all this was, that in B C 391, the tribune L. Apuleius charged him with having secreted some costly articles from the spoils taken at Veii The accusation appears to have been well founded, and in order to escape condemnation, he went into exile to Ardea, praying, as he went out of the gates, that Rome might soon have bitter cause to regret him

CHAPTER IX

TAKING OF ROME BY THE GAULS, AND THE SUBSEQUENT EVENTS, DOWN TO THE LEGISLATION OF C LICINIUS STOLO AND L SEXTIUS

THE time was now approaching when the prophecy of the Etruscan soothsayer was to be fulfilled. There can be little doubt that Rome owed her victories over the Etruscan towns to the immigration of the Gauls or Celts, who at the time were pressing hard upon the Etruscans and had already made themselves masters of the country to the north of the river Po Tradition represents the Gauls as having been tempted, by the wine and fruit growing on the southern side of the Alps, to cross those mountains, and that an Etruscan, Aruns of Clusium, had invited them, with a view of taking vengeance on a young Lucumo who had dishonoured his wife, and against whose outrage he could not get any redress This story is obviously a mere fable the cause of the Gallic migration to the south must have lain much deeper it was either national distress which compelled them to seek food, and a new home, in a foreign land, or they were pushed forward by other nations[1] Their huge bodies, wild figures, and long and shaggy hair, gave a ghastliness to their appearance, their undaunted courage, and love of destruction, spread fear and terror all around and the Etruscan armies had already been frequently beaten by them One branch of the Gauls the Senones under their chief *Brennus, probably assisted by* other tribes, marched towards Clusium in B C 391 The Clusines though they

[1] A tradition related in Livy states that the Gauls had crossed the Alps as early as the time of Tarquinius Priscus.

had no claims to the friendship of the Romans, and knew them only as a powerful nation which had recently conquered Veii, sent envoys to call upon them for aid The senate did not comply with their request, but sent the three sons of M Fabius Ambustus as ambassadors to the Gauls, to demand of them in the name of the Roman people to withdraw, or else to prepare for war with Rome also, for Rome felt herself invincible, and imagined that the terror of her name alone would be sufficient to send the barbarians back to their homes The Gauls answered that their own country was too small to maintain them, and that they would do no harm to Clusium, if its inhabitants would share their territory with them As this was refused a battle ensued between the Gauls and Clusines, and the Roman ambassadors contrary to the law of nations, fought foremost in the ranks of the latter One of the Fabii slew a Gallic chief, and was recognised by the Gauls as he was collecting the spoils Hereupon the Gauls at once stopped the fight and indignant at the unlawful conduct of the Roman ambassadors would have forthwith marched against Rome, had not the more moderate among them prevailed upon the rest to send envoys to Rome to demand the surrender of the Fabii The Roman senate saw the justice of the demand but was too proud to yield to it The matter was referred to the assembly of the people, who not only did not punish the offenders but appointed them consular tribunes for the next year

When the envoys brought back their report the Gauls with an army of 70 000 men straightway set out for Rome Blinded by reliance on their own strength the Romans made no great preparations to meet the necessity of the case With a badly organised army the consular tribunes marched out and, to their surprise met the enemy at the distance of eleven miles from the city on the banks of the little stream Allia which flows from the Crustumine hills towards the Tiber The Romans on seeing the immense host of barbarians cast away their arms and took to flight On the banks of the Tiber they were overtaken

The Capitol alone continued to hold out, being perseveringly defended by a band of about one thousand men Several attempts were made to take it by storm, but the desperate energy of the Romans repulsed the assailants The Gauls then resolved to wait till the provisions of the garrison should be exhausted, and thus to compel the besieged to surrender by hunger The latter derived their drinking water from a well in the Tarpeian rock, which remains to this day a memorial of the siege of the Capitol by the Gauls The ferocious devastations of the barbarians, however, became their own punishment, for they themselves began to suffer from famine, and contagious diseases They were obliged to spread over Latium, for the purpose of collecting provisions, and a band of them appear to have gone as far south as Apulia some even entered the service of Dionysius of Syracuse[4] Camillus, who lived in exile at Ardea, collected the Ardeatans and fugitive Romans, and with them repulsed the plundering Gauls The Etruscans at this time took advantage of the miserable condition of Rome, and began to plunder the Veientine territory, but M Caedicius led the Romans assembled at Veii into the field, routed the enemy, and recovered the captives and plunder The tidings of these success-ful enterprises were conveyed to Rome by a daring youth named Pontius Cominius, who swam across the Tiber and climbed up the Capitol Soon after, the Gauls discovered the way by which he had got to the top of the Capitol, and in the dead of the night they attempted to imitate his example One barbarian, unobserved by the sentinels and dogs, had already reached the top, when the alarm was given by the cries of the geese which were kept in the Capitol in honour of Juno M Manlius, whose house stood on the Capitol,[5] was awakened by the noise he rushed out of his house, and thrust down the Gaul, who in his fall, involved that of the others who were clambering after him Manlius was rewarded by the garrison with gifts suitable to the state of famine from which

[4] Diod. xv 117 Justin, xx. 5

[5] Hence he is called Capitolinus and not from his defence of the Capitol

the dictatorship, much less of his having liberated Rome by arms The differences in the accounts of the departure of the Gauls the contradictions and impossibilities are such as may easily be pardoned in poetry, but are insupportable in an account claiming to be history The greatest discrepancies also prevail in regard to the year in which Rome was taken by the Gauls some say, in round numbers it was three hundred and sixty or three hundred and sixty five years after the building of the city, that is B C 394, or 395, while others place the event in B C 390, or 388

After the departure of the Gauls Rome and the surrounding country must have been a real wilderness many of the small towns in her vicinity must have been swept away Thousands of persons must have fallen by the sword, and many of those who escaped the sword must have been carried away as slaves by the barbarians When the fugitive Romans returned to the city, they found only a heap of rubbish even the walls which king Servius Tullius had been pulled down While things were in this state several of the neighbouring towns were ready to seize the opportunity of casting off the yoke of Rome All this when they were called upon to rebuild the city filled the people with dismay they vehemently desired to quit the place altogether, and to remove to Veii which was undestroyed and contained much better dwelling houses than Rome had ever possessed and in the neighbourhood of which a number of plebeians were already settled But a nobler spirit prevailed the better part of the Romans felt that it would be a cowardly and pusillanimous act to abandon their ancient home with which the dearest associations and recollections were connected where the ancient gods and protectors of the Romans dwelled and where all the power had been acquired which Rome posses ed over the neighbouring countries and tribes The selfishness of the patricians whose possessions lay on the left bank of the Tiber, may likewise have exercised its influence in the decision of the course to be adopted, but however this may be a lucky omen is said

to have silenced all doubts for as after an energetic speech of Camillus the senate was engaged in discussing the matter, a centurion who with his men passed by the senate house was heard to say, Let us plant the banner here for here it is best to stay Upon these words the senators rushed out of the house and declared that they accepted the omen The people who crowded around them agreed with them and it was resolved to rebuild the city As speed was necessary the state gave bricks[7] gratis and allowed the citizens to take stones from any quarries they pleased on condition that the rebuilding of their houses should be completed in one year Everybody was allowed to build how and where he pleased and in the hurry the people forgot the directions of the ancient streets from whence it happened that the great sewers which had before run under the public roads afterwards ran across the streets and under private houses It may easily be conceived that the beauty and comfort of the new houses were matters of secondary consideration The irregularity in the streets of Rome once produced, could not be remedied afterwards, and the streets, down to the great fire in the reign of Nero remained narrow and crooked Many Romans, who had taken to flight during the Gallic invasion wanted to remain where they had found a new home in order to escape the necessity of building a house in the destroyed city, but the senate commanded them to return before a stated day, under pain of the severest penalties

Rome was thus rebuilt within the space of one year All who had afforded her succours during the time of misfortune, were rewarded with honours The inhabitants of Caere and Massilia received the Roman franchise and the Roman matrons the privilege of having orations in their praise spoken at their funerals During this period of recovery, Camillus was the soul of the

[7] It is by no means improbable that these bricks were taken from houses at Veii and that in B.C. 388 the walls of Rome were rebuilt with stones from the walls of Veii, for after this time Veii no longer appears as a splendid city but only as an insignificant place By reducing that town to this state the Romans cut off at once all future schemes of settling there

republic, and her bravest commander in the wars which broke out on every side, for, with the exception of the faithful Sabines, all the neighbouring towns and tribes endeavoured to recover their independence The Latins and Hernicans renounced the yoke of their alliance with Rome, though some of the Latin towns preferred to remain faithful The Volscians, joined by some of the Latin towns were the first to come forward as open enemies of fallen Rome, and the Etruscans soon followed their example Camillus was appointed dictator a third time, and enlisted all the Romans capable of bearing arms both old and young he formed them into three armies with one of which he set out against the Volscians, whom he defeated and routed with great slaughter From the Volscians he proceeded against the Aequians who were besieging Bolae they too were defeated and their camp taken The Roman army which was stationed near Veii, and intended to operate against the Etruscans was not strong enough to relieve Sutrium but the speedy arrival of the dictator saved the place and the Etruscans who already looked upon themselves as conquerors were cut to pieces He then marched to Nepete which was already surrendered to the Etruscans but their garrison was unable to maintain itself in the town and was driven out of it The place was taken by storm and they, by whose advice it had been surrendered to the enemy were put to death Both Sutrium and Nepete received Roman colonists as a protection against further attacks of the Etruscans Camillus on his return to Rome celebrated a triple triumph

In B C 388 some Etruscan towns belonging to Tarquinii were taken and two years later the Antiatans being reinforced by a number of volunteers from Latin towns fought an obstinate battle against Camillus near Satricum which then belonged to the Volscians and was reduced by force Antium however held out until B C 385, when the dictator A Cornelius Cossus gained a complete victory over the Volscians in the Pomptine district A colony of 2000 citizens was now sent to Satricum

Out of this war arose another against Velitrae which had thrown

off the Roman yoke, and as the Romans engaged against Velitrae found that it was supported by the Praenestines, who had before ravaged the territory of some Latin towns which had remained faithful to Rome, war was also declared in B.C. 382 against Praeneste. The Praenestines in their turn, assisted by Velitrae, conquered Satricum, and treated the Roman colonists with great cruelty. Hereupon Camillus, though he was suffering from ill health, accepted a place among the consular tribunes, (B.C. 381,) and marched out with an army against the allied enemies. One part of the Roman forces was put to flight; but Camillus checked the fugitives, and led them against the enemy, who was compelled to retreat. Whether he gained a real victory, and took the enemy's camp,[8] is very uncertain, at any rate the Praenestines were not much weakened, for in the very next year they ravaged the Roman territory, and advanced as far as the Colline gate. T. Quinctius Cincinnatus was then appointed dictator, and immediately raised an army, before which the enemy retreated until they reached the Allia, where they offered battle. The Romans, however, gained the day, and put them to flight. Quinctius pursued them, and in nine days he took nine towns, eight of which belonged to Praeneste; on the tenth day, Praeneste itself fell into the hands of the Romans. On the twentieth day after his appointment to the dictatorship, Quinctius celebrated his triumph.[9] The war against Antium was brought to a close in B.C. 376. Satricum was recovered, and the Antiatans were cut to pieces at Tusculum.

After this, Rome was for a time prevented from further foreign enterprises by the disputes occasioned by the Licinian rogations. The period from the decemvirate, down to the destruction of Rome by the Gauls, had been one of increasing prosperity for the plebeians. many families had received assignments of land in the

[8] Liv. vi. 24.

[9] An inscription on a golden wreath, which Quinctius dedicated in the Capitoline temple, recording his brilliant victory, was the oldest among the inscriptions at Rome of which the precise age was known. See Liv. vi. 29.

Veientine territory and elsewhere, the booty taken in the wars, if carefully husbanded, must have yielded considerable advantages to many, and the pay which the soldiers received took a heavy burden from them During the whole of that period of about half a century, we hear no complaints of any harsh application of the law of debt But the invasion of the Gauls, accompanied as it was with the destruction of Rome and the devastation of the country all around put an end to the thriving prosperity of the Romans The losses sustained through the barbarians the rebuilding of the city, the purchase of new cattle and agricultural implements, and in addition to all this, the necessity of a high rate of taxation led to a general state of debt among those whose means were not above mediocrity In order to raise the reduced population, the inhabitants of four neighbouring districts received the full Roman franchise, and were formed into four new tribes, so that henceforth the number of tribes was 25 [10] The wealthy Romans, chiefly patricians again began to act the revolting part of usurers and again endeavoured to deprive the plebeians of the rights which had been secured to them by solemn treaties Many a poor plebeian now again eked out his wretched existence in the dungeon of his cruel creditor and hundreds of others had nothing but the prospect of a similar fate before them

M Manlius, the deliverer of the Capitol, whose ambition was wounded by the neglect of his fellow patricians and by the repeated appointments of Camillus to the highest dignities, opened for himself a new road to distinction He took pity upon the poor and helpless debtors and one day, as he saw one of his old and brave fellow soldiers carried away in fetters by an usurer, Manlius generously paid the debt on the spot, and restored the man to his family The people who saw the man, and heard his sad tale, felt that his case was only one out of a hundred similar ones, and were roused to indignation at the hard heartedness of the rich Manlius at the same time declared in public, that so long as he possessed a single pound of brass

[10] Liv vi. 5

he would not allow a Roman citizen to be carried into slavery f debt and he kept his word faithfully; for upwards of 40 citizens were rescued by him from imprisonment, by lending the money without interest. He thus gained the honourable appe lation of the "father of the people," and plebeians of all class were frequently observed to visit his house on the Capitolin The irritation, which his popularity produced was increased b a charge which he made against the patricians for he sai that they had embezzled some of the gold levied to cover th ransom of the city from the Gauls and he demanded that th sum should be refunded for the purpose of a general liquidatio of debts In B C. 385, A Cornelius Cossus who was raise to the dictatorship to conduct the war against the Volscians ordered Manlius to be thrown into prison for attempting t create sedition among the people, and for slandering the patri cians Many of the plebeians put on mourning as for thei most faithful friend and patron they thronged around his prison and some even muttered threats that they would release him b force The senate then restored him to liberty, either becaus they began to be alarmed or because no evidence could be brought against him When he was again among his friends their language naturally became fiercer and more menacing than before and though it may have been an unfounded charge that he aimed at kingly power yet Manlius had now become an extremely dangerous citizen Two tribunes probably with no other object than to induce him to quit Rome impeached him before the centuries charging him with high treason. His own friends forsook him but when he reminded the people of the battles he had fought and of what the republic owed to him they felt that they could not condemn him As this however was not the way to remove the danger and restore peace the same charge was then brought against him before the curiae The patrician court condemned him to death Whether he had acted as an open rebel before, or whether the sentence of condemnation drove him into rebellion, is uncertain, but he was now at war with the

republic, and with an armed band he was in possession of the Capitol. A traitor, who pretended to communicate to him some secret information, led him to a lonely spot on the edge of the Tarpeian rock, and pushed him down, in B C 384[1] An ordinance was forthwith passed, that in future no patrician should be allowed to reside on the Capitoline, the house of Manlius was razed to the ground, and the gens of the Manlii resolved that none of its members should ever again bear the praenomen Marcus But the people mourned over him, and a pestilence and famine, which followed soon after, were regarded as a punishment sent by the gods to avenge the deliverer of their temples

In order to appease the people, the senate, in B C 383 resolved to assign to the plebeians the Pomptine district, which the tribunes had demanded four years before, but with the exception of a few, all the new settlers were soon after cut to pieces by the *enemies of Rome* the *distress among the poor* also increased from day to day The number of free citizens was now rapidly diminishing, and Rome would have become a miserable oligarchy, had not her decline been arrested by two bold tribunes, who changed the fate of their country, and with it that of the world

[1] This is evidently the true account (Dion Cass. *Fragm* xxxi. ed Reimarus, Zonar vii. 24) Livy's story which is incorrect and contradictory, seems to have been made up to excuse the Romans, who were ashamed of this dastardly piece of treachery committed against the greatest man of the age

CHAPTER V

LICINIUS STOLO AND L. SEXTIUS, WITH THEIR LEGISLATION—NEW CURULE OFFICES, AND PARTICIPATION OF THE PLEBEIANS IN THE HIGHEST MAGISTRACIES—WARS WITH THE HERNICANS, ETRUSCANS, AND GAULS

A GENERAL state of debt and poverty such as existed at Rome after its capture by the Gauls usually leads to revolutions in which the state and its constitution perish but at Rome things turned out differently the moderation and perseverance of the men who undertook to remedy the evil as well as of those who were suffering under it not only prevented such a calamity, but enabled the two reformers C Licinius Stolo and L Sextius to lay the foundation of Rome's regeneration and real greatness They were elected tribunes for the year B C 376 and set about their task with a view to improve the physical condition of the plebeians and to give them that political influence which might in future secure them against the arbitrary and domineering spirit of the patricians and thus prevent their falling back into the miserable condition in which patrician avarice and love of dominion had placed them

There always has been and always will be a class of persons who being themselves incapable of a generous and disinterested action are ever ready to trace the measures of great men to some vulgar or base motive and the love of scandal is never at a loss to invent such motives Thus has been the case with the *legislation of C Licinius* but here unfortunately the slanderous tale of the circumstance that urged him on to his legislation has become firmly rooted in history C Licinius was married to Fabia the younger daughter of the patrician M. Fabius Ambus

tus her elder sister was married to Ser Sulpicius, who was consular tribune in the same year in which Licinius was tribune of the plebs The younger Fabia, it is said, was one day on a visit at her sister's, and was frightened by the noise of the lictors who accompanied Sulpicius as he returned home from the forum The elder Fabia, accustomed to such things laughed at her sister's fear, and remarked that such occurrences would not be startling to her, if she were not married to a plebeian Stimulated by vanity, the younger Fabia now entreated her father and husband not to rest until her husband too should enjoy the same honours as Sulpicius And this wretched piece of female vanity is said to have driven Licinius to his legislation [1] But the absurdity of the tale is too obvious to deserve the least confidence, for the younger Fabia was assuredly acquainted with such scenes, as her own father had been consular tribune in B C 381, and her husband, though a plebeian, was not excluded from that office but what is more than all is, that the things which Fabia coveted are not by any means those which Licinius aimed at in his legislation for his object was to abolish the consular tribuneship, and to throw the consulship open to the plebeians C Licinius found a faithful and sympathising friend in his colleague, L Sextius

Hitherto the tribunes had endeavoured to protect their order by stopping the levies of troops and by other means which their office suggested but they had seldom been able to gain any great and permanent advantages or effectually and thoroughly to remove the causes of the distress of the plebeians Licinius and Sextius saw the evil and resolved to apply a radical cure They proposed three laws first that the amount of interest which debtors had paid up to that time should be deducted from the principal and that the remainder should be paid off by three yearly instalments secondly that no one should be allowed to possess more than five hundred jugera of the public land or keep

[1] Liv vi 34 Zonar vii 24

B C 376 to 371 while Licinius and Sextius were re-elected to the tribuneship year after year[3] Rome was in a state of perfect anarchy and it was a great piece of good fortune that no foreign foe took the field against Rome during that period In B C 371 the tribunes at length allowed the election of consular tribunes because the Velitrnians were laying waste the Roman territory, and had attacked Tusculum which called upon Rome for aid The levy of an army, however was a matter of some difficulty but Tusculum was delivered and Velitrae itself besieged by the Romans though with little success Licinius and Sextius still continued to be re elected year after year, and the opposition of their colleagues gradually ceased so that in B C 369 only five of them set themselves against the rogations As Licinius now found that his cause was gaining ground he brought forward a fourth bill that instead of the two men who had hitherto been entrusted with the keeping of the Sibylline books ten should be appointed and that half of them should be plebeians This measure was probably devised to meet the objections which the patricians were in the habit of making against plebeians being raised to the consulship, viz , that the plebeians had not the same auguries as the patricians, and had no knowledge to interpret the will of the gods The new law of Licinius was intended to procure that very knowledge for the plebeians which had before enabled the patricians to prevent or stop the proceedings of the popular assemblies The five tribunes who still opposed the rogations insisted on deferring all discussions upon them until the soldiers engaged in the siege of Velitrae should have returned home When the army returned the tribunes who were then all animated by the same spirit resolved to bring the passing of the bills to a decision The patricians had recourse to the last extremity they appointed M Furius Camillus the aged conqueror of the Gauls to the dictatorship B C 368 When the tribes

[3] *Liv* vi 35 *Lydus de Magistrat* anarchy lasted only four years. Eu s. 36 Others however state that the trop n. 1 , Vopiscus, *Tacit*]

terrible threats were held out by the plebeians, and things nearly came to a secession [4] The mediation of the dictator at length prevailed upon the patricians to yield The concession, however, was not made without their endeavouring to limit it as much as possible the principal part of the consular jurisdiction was taken away from the consuls, and vested in a new magistrate called the *praetor*, who was to be elected from among the patricians exclusively In this manner the patricians endeavoured to retain for themselves the knowledge of the law, and the right of interpreting it At the same time two patrician aediles (*aediles curules*) were appointed [5] along with the plebeian aediles, with whom they were to share the criminal jurisdiction in annual rotation The aediles further had the superintendence of the police, the temples, and the great festivals, for the celebration of which they received funds from the public treasury, until about the time of the first Punic war, when it became customary for the aediles to defray the expenses out of their own purse Camillus, who in the end had acted the part of a mediator between the two orders, vowed a temple to Concord, to express his gratitude for the happy issue of the contest

Peace was now restored, and the plebeians had acquired the right of being elected to the consulship its power had been greatly curtailed by the institution of the censorship and praetorship, which were reserved for the patricians, but the latter were nevertheless greatly annoyed at having been obliged to share the consular dignity with the plebeians At first, they contrived to keep the plebeian consul in inactivity, and on one occasion they openly rejoiced at the misfortune of a plebeian consul in the field Afterwards, repeated and most desperate efforts were

[4] According to Ovid, *Fast* i 643, &c., matters really did come to a secession, and the plebeians took up arms and gathered together On the whole our accounts of the proceedings in these years are extremely meagre

[5] The account which Livy, vi. in fine gives of the institution of the curule aediles is a mere fable, and apparently an ill natured invention of the patricians.

is especially mentioned only because it was the most glaring the giver of the law being the first to violate it

It must have been a matter of very great difficulty to carry into effect the law relating to debts, for many a poor debtor undoubtedly was unable to pay off his debt by the three instalments prescribed by law Such persons were obliged to borrow again in order to be able to comply with the command of the law, and as at that time money could not be got except at a very high rate of interest, the usurers again began their speculations whence in a short time the misery of the poor became as great as it had ever been before, for the severe law of debt still continued in force and the relief which Licinius had afforded the poor was only momentary In order to stop the ruinous proceedings of the usurers, the tribunes M Duilius and L Maenius in B C 357, carried a law, under great opposition from the patricians, which established the uncial rate of interest (*foenus unciarium*) that is, ten per cent for the civil year of twelve months and a heavy fine upon any one who should violate the law In B C 352 other measures were adopted for the benefit of poor debtors five commissioners (*quinqueviri mensarii*) were appointed for a general liquidation of debts and the commissioners were to advance money, from the public treasury, to those who were unable to pay their debts but could give security to the state Those who could give no security could not be helped at all but remained in the same miserable condition as before In B C 347 the rate of the uncial interest was reduced one half (*semunciarium foenus*), that is the rate of interest henceforth was 5 per cent and a term of three years was granted for paying off the principal one-fourth was to be paid immediately, and the remainder by three equal instalments But all these regulations were of use only to those who had some property and no remedy could be found for those who were quite impoverished It is not impossible that the mysterious insurrection of the Roman army at Capua in B C 342 may have arisen from the irremediable distress of a large class of Romans

In B C 365, after the building of the temple of Concord was completed, Camillus, then at the age of eighty, died of the plague, which broke out at Rome and raged for several years In order to appease the gods to whose wrath the calamity was ascribed the Romans had recourse to several superstitious rites and ceremonies *lectisternia*, or repasts for the gods, were prepared and scenic plays were performed, such as had been customary in Etruria long before, but had never yet been exhibited at Rome But the disease did not give way, and in addition to it, the Tiber overflowed its banks and deluged the lower parts of the city There was a report, that a pestilence had once been averted in Etruria by a nail being driven into the wall of a temple, and forthwith L Manlius was appointed dictator in B C 363 to perform this ceremony in the Capitoline temple But after the ceremony was over, the dictator as though he had been appointed for the purpose of a war began to levy an army declaring that war must be made against the Hernicans All the tribunes rose against this arbitrary mode of acting and Manlius was obliged to lay down his office In the year following he was impeached by the tribune, M. Pomponius before the people on account of the severity and cruelty with which he had attempted to carry on the levy Manlius, in general, was known as a man of a most haughty and domineering disposition,[7] which he showed not only towards strangers but to his nearest relatives When his son, who was at the time in the country heard of the charges brought against his father and learned that one of them referred to the cruelty with which he himself had been treated he hastened to Rome and, with a dagger concealed under his garment he proceeded early in the morning to the house of the tribune and demanded a private interview with him On being admitted, he threatened to murder Pomponius on the spot, unless he promised on his oath to drop the accusation against Manlius The intimidated and

[7] Hence his surname of Imperiosus.

defenceless tribune promised to do as he was bid The people, instead of being exasperated at the young man's conduct, admired his filial affection so much, that they elected him one of the military tribunes or lieutenants [8]

In the same year, it is related, an earthquake occurred, which produced a large and deep chasm in the middle of the forum The people endeavoured to fill it up with earth, but in vain, and the soothsayers declared that it could not be filled up, unless Rome threw into it the most precious thing she possessed A young warrior of the name of M Curtius, in full armour, mounted his war horse, and praying to the infernal gods, leaped into the chasm, declaring that Rome had nothing more precious than warlike virtue The chasm closed over him, and in its place a lake arose, which from that occurrence was believed to have derived its name of the Curtian lake (*lacus Curtius*) [9]

For some time after the passing of the Licinian laws, the Romans abstained from making war upon any of their neighbours, for the purpose of not giving to a plebeian consul an opportunity of distinguishing himself When in B C 366 the war against the Hernicans was decreed, and it fell to the lot of the plebeian consul, L Genucius, to undertake the command in it, every one was anxiously looking forward to see how he might succeed Unfortunately, he was drawn into a snare by the enemy his legions were dispersed, and he himself was surrounded and killed When the tidings of this misfortune were brought to Rome, the patricians, instead of lamenting the public calamity, rejoiced at the failure of the plebeian consul So much for their patriotism! In order to prevent a plebeian having again the command in war, App Claudius was appointed dictator, and the same means were resorted to in each of the three subsequent years App Claudius, after having raised reinforce

[8] Up to this time the generals themselves had appointed their lieutenants or military tribunes but in this year they were for the first time elected in the assembly of the centuries

[9] For a different legend see Liv i 12, &c Plut *Fur* 18

ments, took the field against the Hernicans, who had in the meantime made all possible efforts to baffle the Romans A battle was fought, in which many fell on both sides, but the Romans at length succeeded in driving the Hernicans back to their camp, and on the next day the enemies were routed, leaving their camp and the wounded in the hands of the Romans But the latter also had lost the fourth part of their army In the year following, the Hernican town of Ferentinum was taken, and as Tibur had shut its gates against the Romans as they passed by, war was declared against it About the same time, the Gauls made another inroad, and pitched their camp at a short distance from Rome, on the banks of the Anio T Quinctius Pennus was called to the dictatorship, to conduct the war against them This war is celebrated for the poetical story of the single combat of the brave T Manlius with the Gallic giant While the hostile armies were encamped opposite each other, a Gaul of gigantic stature challenged the bravest of the Romans to fight with him, and T Manlius, the same who had intimidated the tribune Pomponius the year before, came forward. He nimbly avoided the stroke of his adversary s sword, stepped behind his shield, and pierced him with his sword through the side and belly The monster fell, and his body covered a large space of ground. Manlius took the gold chain (*torques*) of the Gaul, and put it around his own neck, whence he received the surname of Torquatus After this glorious victory of young Manlius, the Gauls broke up their camp marched to Tibur, and thence to Campania Tibur assisted the Gauls or did homage to them and as war had been declared against it, the consul C Poetelius, in B C 360, led an army against the Tiburtines The Gauls now returned from Campania to assist their friends, and ravaged the territories of some towns which were allied with Rome A dictator was again appointed, and a battle was fought near the Colline gate The Gauls were put to flight and were received by the consul Poetelius who drove them, together with the Tiburtines, into the town of Tibur, and thus gained a triumph over both In the meantime

the Hernicans had been conquered by the other consul, M Fabius In B C 359 the Tiburtines made an attempt to take Rome by surprise at night, but as soon as the watchful Romans made their appearance outside the gates the enemy took to flight

About this time the Etruscans of Tarquinii commenced ravaging the territory of Rome, and as they refused to make reparation war was declared against them in B C 358 the consul, C Fabius, received the command in it, while his colleague, C Plautius, took the field against the Hernicans In order to increase the number of her citizens, Rome added two new tribes to the twenty five already existing She was now engaged against two formidable enemies, and a third, the Gauls were daily expected to renew their hostilities Rome, however was at the same time strengthened by the renewal of the ancient alliance with Latium The Gauls soon made their appearance in the Praenestine territory and about Pedum C Sulpicius was raised to the dictatorship, and having selected the best men from the consular armies, he led his troops against the Gauls He being a great general, seeing that the enemy lost daily in strength and numbers resolved to wear them out and for that purpose established himself in a fortified camp The Roman soldiers on the other hand burnt with a desire to be led out to battle but when at length he was forced to give way to their clamour his prudence became manifest, for the legions were driven back to their camp and were saved only by despair and a stratagem which made the Gauls flee into the woods whither they were eagerly pursued by the Romans C Sulpicius was honoured with a triumph and the gold he took as booty was walled up in the Capitoline temple

For several years after this victory we hear no more of Gallic invasions The consul C Plautius had in the meantime, conquered the Hernicans but their final reduction was not brought about till B C 306 C Fabius had been less successful against the Tarquinians for they not only defeated his army, but slaughtered 307 Roman soldiers, who had been taken prisoners

The Faliscans assisted the Tarquinians and refused to restore those Romans who during their flight had taken refuge at Falerii. In B.C. 357 the consul Cn. Manlius undertook the command against the Tarquinians and Faliscans, while his colleague led an army against the Privernatans who had ravaged the Roman territory, for which he allowed his men to plunder and lay waste their country in return. The Privernatans ventured upon a battle, but were driven back into their town which immediately surrendered. Cn. Manlius accomplished nothing of any consequence; he committed however the irregularity of assembling his troops in the camp near Sutrium, and treating them as an assembly of the tribes, made them pass a law enacting that any one who manumitted a slave should pay to the treasury the twentieth part of his value. This law was without hesitation, sanctioned by the curiæ because it brought money into the public purse, and also because it was a check upon manumissions which must have been frequent at the time. But the tribunes, though they did not object to the law, looked upon it as a dangerous precedent, and foresaw that if it were allowed to pass the consuls would in future be enabled to get any measure passed by the soldiers who were bound to them by their military oath. They therefore proposed and carried a law forbidding under penalty of death the transacting of business with the people in any other but the proper place. M. Fabius Ambustus the successor of Cn. Manlius was put to flight on his first encounter with the Etruscans, for they frightened the Romans by assuming the appearance of furies carrying torches and snakes in their hands; but when the Romans discovered the delusion they attacked the enemy with double vehemence, the Etruscans were put to flight, and their camp and immense booty fell into the hands of the Romans. This defeat is said to have roused all the Etruscans who under the guidance of the Tarquinians and Faliscans, advanced as far as the salt works (*Salinæ*) near the mouth of the Tiber. C. Marcius Rutilus a plebeian was now raised to the dictatorship, and the more obstinately the

patricians refused to provide him with the means necessary for carrying on the war, the more readily was he supplied with everything by the people As soon as he was able, he took the field, and by skilful manœuvres cut to pieces several detachments of the Etruscans, whom he found engaged in laying waste the country At length he took the enemy's camp and 8000 prisoners the rest were killed or had escaped by flight In the year following the internal feuds about the consulship rendered foreign enterprises impossible, but in B C 351 the Romans took fearful vengeance for the murder of their prisoners by the Tarquinians, for out of the immense numbers of Etruscan captives 358 of the most distinguished were selected and sent to Rome and all the rest were put to the sword The people of Rome ordered the 358 to be scourged, and to be beheaded in the forum In the same year Tibur was forced to surrender to the Romans

These brilliant achievements of the Roman arms or, what is more probable, the fear of the Gallic hordes that ranged through Italy, induced the Samnites to seek an alliance with Rome It was willingly granted them by the senate

It was discovered in the meantime that the inhabitants of Caere had joined the Tarquinians in their ravages of the Roman territory, and war was therefore declared against them in B C 353 T Manlius was to conduct the war against them as dictator, but Caere feeling that it was unable to cope with Rome sent ambassadors to sue for pardon The senate referred the matter to the people and the latter it is said gratefully remembering the services done by Caere during the Gallic calamity, granted peace and pardon to the Caerites with whom a truce was concluded for 100 years but we know from another source [9] that Caere purchased peace at the hard price of half its territory

The Romans now directed their arms against the Faliscans as however the latter did not make their appearance in the field

[9] Dion Cass *Fragm.* 149

the army returned to Rome Immediately after it was reported that the twelve Etruscan tribes had conspired against Rome and under the influence of the alarm thus created C Julius Julus was appointed dictator but it soon came out that the report was a fabrication and that the dictator's object was only to try to get two patricians elected to the consulship When this end was gained the two consuls of B C 351, marched out against the Tarquinians and Faliscans The Etruscans did not come forward and the Romans were satisfied with ravaging their territories Both parties now grew tired of this state of warfare and when the Tarquinians sued for a truce it was willingly granted by the senate for a period of forty years

In B C 350 an immense host of Gauls again appeared in the neighbourhood of Rome and pitched their camp in Latium As L Cornelius Scipio one of the consuls of the year was ill his colleague M Popillius Laenas undertook the command against them and encamped on an eminence opposite the camp of the Gauls The latter attempted to storm the hill but were repulsed Popillius Laenas himself was wounded and for a time the issue of the contest was doubtful, but the consul rallied his troops and led them on to a fresh attack he succeeded in scattering the thick hosts and compelled them to take refuge in the Alban mountains There they formed a new encampment leaving the other as a prey to the Romans who did not pursue them any further The Gauls maintained themselves in the mountains during the ensuing winter making predatory excursions into Latium it was thus reserved for L Furius Camillus in his consulship B C 349 to bring the war to a close He collected all the forces of Rome and her allies and having put the city itself into a proper state of defence marched out against the enemy who seem to have descended from the mountains into the Pomptine district When the hostile armies met one of the Gauls according to the custom of his nation challenged any Roman to single combat [1]

[1] The account of this single combat, like that of Manlius with the Gallic giant, is no more than a poetical story

M Valerius, a young military tribune, with the permission of the consul, accepted the challenge, but when he attacked the barbarian, a raven, which had settled upon the helmet of the Roman, at each onset flew into the face of the Gaul, assailing him with his beak and wings The barbarian, unable to see, was slain by Valerius, who received the surname of Corvus (that is, the Raven) When the conqueror was collecting the spoil of his enemy, the Gauls tried to prevent it, and thence a fight arose which ended in a general battle The Romans were victorious, and the Gauls, it is said fled through the country of the Volscians to the Vulturnus, and thence into Apulia The account of their flight is very doubtful, but it is certain, that from that time the Gauls never again entered Latium and that Camillus, whatever his victory may have been, was the conqueror of the Gauls and the deliverer of Rome For a long time to come the Romans had rest from the Gallic wars, which had been a real school of training for them and from which they went forth as perfect warriors, prepared to encounter any enemy that might venture to check their progress

About this time the coast of Latium was infested by a Greek fleet, which frequently landed to plunder the country Who these Greeks were and whence they came, is a perfect mystery [12] It is, however, not improbable that the appearance of these pirates occasioned the renewal of the ancient treaty with Carthage, which took place in B C 348 [13] As Carthage was then mistress of the sea, she had it in her power to protect the Romans, who at that time had no ships except for commercial purposes

Satricum had been occupied by a Volscian colony from Antium but the Latins destroyed the place, and the Antiatans in B C 346 were reported to have excited the Latins to revolt against

[12] Livy thinks that they came from the Sicilian tyrants but at that time they had no fleets, and could not have ventured out on the sea, which was under the dominion of Carthage

[13] Liv vii 27 This appears to be the treaty preserved in Polybius (iii 24) who does not mention the time at which it was concluded for the treaty of B C 306 is expressly called by Livy (ix 43), *the third*

Rome M Valerius Corvus was ordered to raise an army against the Volscians the latter, although they were not unprepared for the war, were put to flight on the first encounter, and took refuge at Satricum, which, however, was taken by the Romans by storm 4000 Volscian soldiers surrendered, and Satricum was set on fire. The booty was given to the soldiers, and the prisoners were sold on account of the republic The alliance with Latium became weaker and weaker, in consequence of the commanding tone which Rome assumed, and several occurrences in the late wars with the Gauls and Volscians betrayed the state of feeling among the Latins In short, it became more and more evident that the alliance between Rome and Latium could not last much longer, and that one of them must be compelled to obey the other

CHAPTER XI

THE FIRST WAR AGAINST THE SAMNITES —THE SUBJUGATION OF LATIUM —THE PUBLILIAN LAWS.

THE wars in which Rome was involved, during the period we are now entering upon, were far more important than any of the earlier ones their enemies themselves were more powerful, and the wars had to be carried on in distant countries The Samnites, with whom Rome now came in contact, were a populous and wealthy nation, inhabiting a large extent of country Lucania and Campania had been colonised by them, but had by this time become estranged from their mother country The Samnites, however, were still the most powerful and warlike nation in Italy, and far superior to Rome and her allies, both in the number of their population and in the extent of territory which they occupied Their state was a confederation of four cantons, and their union made the nation strong The history of their wars with Rome, of their unshaken perseverance, of their sufferings and final destruction, is greatly falsified by the vanity of the Romans whose anxiety to gloss over any reverse they suffered, often renders it almost impossible to restore the real history, and exhibit the events in their natural connection

The peace and alliance which the Samnites had concluded with Rome lasted little more than ten years, after which period the course of the war which then broke out is related as follows —The Samnites had made war upon the Sidicinians, and the latter despairing of their own power sought the assistance of the Campanians But the Campanians, the most luxurious and effeminate among the people of Italy, were defeated by the

Samnites in the first battle, and retreated to Capua The Samnites, deferring the war against the Sidicinians, followed the Campanians, and pitched their camp on the heights of Tifata, which overlooked Capua From these hills they ravaged the plains below, and in a battle, which at last the Campanians ventured upon, drove them back into their city The Samnites, satisfied with their booty, now seem to have returned, and the Campanians, who had lost the flower of their youth, applied to Rome for aid The Romans, it is said, at first scrupled to afford the Campanians any assistance, on account of their own alliance with the Samnites, but when the Campanians threw themselves and their country into the arms of the Romans, and offered as subjects to acknowledge their sovereignty, they then thought it right to support their subjects rather than their allies This account, which we read in Livy,[1] is evidently a fabrication, for it is obvious, from the subsequent history, that Capua was not in the relation of a subject state to Rome, but merely allied, and Livy's account was devised only for the purpose of disguising the faithlessness of the Romans towards their Samnite allies The Samnites, on being informed by Roman ambassadors of the new alliance with Capua, and being requested to abstain from hostilities towards the latter, declared the conduct of the Romans a breach of peace and forthwith ordered their army to invade Campania

In B C 343 two consular armies took the field against the Samnites the one, under M Valerius Corvus, went to Campania, the other, under his colleague A Cornelius Cossus, to Samnium The former was a man of the most amiable disposition, he enjoyed the admiration and confidence of his soldiers, he surpassed every one by his skill and strength in athletic exercises, and in the camp he amused himself familiarly with the soldiers without taking offence at their coarse jokes or losing his dignity[2] On his arrival in Campania, he pitched his camp on Mount

[1] VII 30 &c.

[2] See the beautiful eulogium on him in Niebuhr's *Hist of Rome* vol. III. p. 124 &c.

Gaurus, which was then clad with vines, but is at present barren and naked The position was unfavourable, but it is not impossible that the consul may have been driven to it The battle which was there fought is one of the most important in the history of the world, for it decided the contest between the Romans and Samnites for the sovereignty of Italy The Romans had adopted such parts of the Samnite armour, as they thought superior to their own, but in their unfavourable position they had no choice between victory and annihilation, and the issue was decided by their despair and perseverance They renewed their attacks incessantly, and with their utmost exertions thousands of Samnites had already fallen, but no decisive impression was yet made upon them, and both armies seemed to be resolved to be conquered by nothing but death The day was already far advanced, when a desperate attack of the Romans decided the issue of the battle The Samnites fled in disorder until they reached their camp, which, however, they abandoned in the following night The Samnite soldiers are reported to have said after the battle, that the eyes of the Romans seemed to them to be on fire, and their features to utter madness, and that their terrible aspect had compelled them to take to flight Valerius was saluted by the Campanians as their deliverer, but another contest yet awaited him before the land was freed from the enemy

His colleague in the meantime, had led his army through the dangerous mountain passes of the Apennines in the direction of Beneventum At first no enemy was to be seen, but suddenly a whole Samnite army appeared on the heights of the mountains, above the Romans hastening down to attack them Escape seemed impossible but the intrepid P Decius Mus, with a band of soldiers quickly occupied a height which the Samnites had to pass and by the most determinate resistance succeeded in enabling his fellow soldiers to retrace their steps, he could not himself join the consul till the following night, when he and his band fought their way through the surrounding Samnites with incredible boldness Decius and his brave comrades

were received in triumph by the consul and the army which owed its preservation to them On the next morning the Romans attacked the scattered hosts of the Samnites and 30 000 who had thrown themselves into their camp are said to have been cut to pieces Hereupon the two Roman armies united in the neighbourhood of Suessula, for there the Samnite army which had been defeated at Mount Gaurus had re assembled and having received numerous reinforcements had again commenced ravaging the plains of Campania The Campanians again entreated Valerius to protect them and he at once pitched a small camp containing only the best of his troops near that of the enemy but he acted with great caution The Samnites were anxious to attack him immediately but their commanders prevented it they soon began to be in want of provisions and in order to satisfy their hunger were dispersed over the country in search of food This was the moment Valerius had been waiting for he made himself master of the feebly-defended camp of the Samnites while a part of his troops prevented the scattered bands of Samnites from uniting His success was complete the Samnites fled in consternation or laid down their arms, and 40 000 shields and 170 standards are said to have been taken by the Romans [2]

Both consuls on their return to Rome were honoured with a triumph over the Samnites the most formidable enemy that Rome had yet come in contact with The fruits of the victories became manifest in the fact that the Fabscans sought an alliance with Rome and that even distant Carthage sent ambassadors to congratulate the Roman. honouring their valour with a golden crown of twenty five pounds in weight The Campanians of Suessa also sent envoys to Rome requesting her to send a

[2] Exaggerations like this frequently occur in the history of men bers of the Valerian gens whence it is not improbable that they may have been the fabrications of the unscrupulous historian Valerius of Antium. His faults were well known to Livy although the latter frequently adopted his statements.

garrison to their city to protect it against the incursions of the Samnites, who, notwithstanding their recent defeats, did not abstain from harassing their enemies In the same year the Latins made war against the Pelignians, who were in alliance with the Samnites

In the year following, B C 342, the supreme command of the army of Rome and her allies seems to have been in the hands of the Latins, for Rome was paralysed by an insurrection of the army at Capua, but though we do not hear of any military achievement, all the advantages gained in the preceding year remained unimpaired The revolution of the Roman garrison at Capua seems to be a mysterious occurrence if we look, however, at the legislative measures which were passed at Rome immediately after, in the same year, we must conclude that the cause of the insurrection lay in the deplorable condition of a large number of poor Romans, who were involved in debt without any hope or prospect of being relieved The affluence and luxury of wealthy Capua, thus the story runs, awakened in those Roman legions which formed the garrison of Campania the horrible scheme of murdering, or subduing the inhabitants, and then founding a new state When the consul C Martius Rutilus, in B C 342, undertook the command of the legions in Campania, the scheme had ripened into a complete conspiracy The consul did all in his power to prevent any outbreak but when the soldiers became aware of his contrivances, they assembled and marched towards Rome, and having forced the aged T Quinctius to become their leader they continued their march, and pitched their camp about eight miles from the city of Rome In the meantime M Valerius Corvus had been appointed dictator, and was on his way with an army to meet the insurgents When the armies were arrayed against each other the insurgents began to be desirous of peace and to repent of their crime Valerius offered them peace and the rebels on the advice of their leader, trusted to Valerius who then returned to Rome, and caused the senate and people to grant a general amnesty to the insurgents It was

further enacted, that no soldier should be struck off from the muster roll without his own consent, and that no one who had served as a tribune of the soldiers should afterwards be appointed a captain (*ordinum ductor*) The object of the first law seems to have been to prevent debtors, while serving in the army from being arrested by their creditors.

The story of this insurrection as sketched above from Livy, is most singular The rebels, it is said, intended to make themselves masters of Capua, yet that town is entirely lost sight of in the sequel of the narrative, and the rebels in the end, are satisfied with some paltry concessions, as if ashamed of their own designs But the fact is, that the whole insurrection, in the form in which it has been handed down, has no definite object at all. We know, however, that some very important laws resulted from it and these laws furnish us with a key to the understanding of the real objects of the rebels Aurelius Victor[4] and Appian[5] say that a large number of people were weighed down by debts that the soldiers, being afraid of returning to Rome, and of being seized there by their creditors, tried to take possession of Capua and that Valerius appeased the insurgents by a general cancelling of debts It is further said, that the tribune *Genucius carried a law which forbade the loan of money on* interest,[6] though this law does not appear to have long remained in force. Another important law, of the same year enacted that no one should be allowed to be re-elected to the same magistracy till after an interval of ten years and that no one should be invested with two curule offices at a time for hitherto it had frequently happened, that an influential patrician had obtained the consulship in two or more successive years and a consul had not unfrequently held the office of praetor along with the consulship Lastly, it was proposed that it should be lawful to elect both consuls from among the plebeians but whether this bill

[4] *De Vir Illustr* 29 Cic. 54
[5] Samn., 1 &c. Liv. viii. 42.
[6] Liv. vii. 42. Appian, *De Bell.*

the nobles, although no one, looking at the matter with impartiality, can blame the Latins, for, allied as they now were with the Campanians, Sidicinians, and Volscians, they were scarcely inferior to Rome and her allies, the Hernicans and Samnites The Romans expressed their indignation at the presumptuous proposal of the Latins in the strongest terms, and the consul T Manlius, declared, that if Rome yielded, he would come armed into the senate house, and cut down the first Latin he saw there As L Annius, the spokesman of the Latins, hurried down the steps of the senate house, he fell from the top to the bottom, and died on the spot, and the other envoys, so long as they remained within the territory of Rome, were scarcely safe against the violence of the people War was forthwith declared against the Latins

Two consular armies were destined for the war, and L Papirius Crassus as dictator, received the command of the civic legions, and a reserve consisting of the aged in the city The consuls, with their armies, hastened into Samnium, and the Latins, instead of attacking Rome, made Campania the scene of the war The Romans, united with the Hernicins and Samnites, marched against Capua, and met the army of the Latins encamped near Mount Vesuvius When the hostile armies were stationed *opposite each other, the Roman generals, probably from fear of* treachery, since many of the Latin soldiers were well acquainted with the Romans, who had formerly fought side by side with them, issued a proclamation forbidding every one, under penalty of death, from engaging in single combat at the outposts The son of the consul, Manlius, who commanded a detachment of the cavalry, being sent out to reconnoitre, met a Tusculan officer, who insulted and provoked him Young Manlius unable to control his anger, fought with his enemy, and the arrogant Tusculan fell by his lance Manlius, intoxicated with joy at his victory, brought the spoils before his father, but the latter, without mercy, punished the violation of military discipline, by ordering his son to be put to death The comrades of young Manlius burned his corpse with the mournful spoils, and lamented his death, while

his father's heart remained unmoved, but as long as he lived, all avoided his presence, and cursed the unfatherly man

In the meantime both consuls are said to have had a vision, in which a superhuman being announced to them that the general of one of the belligerent parties, and the whole of the army of the other had become forfeited to the infernal gods and mother Earth Both agreed, that the one whose army should first begin to waver should devote himself and the hostile army, to the gods When on the side where Decius commanded, the lines fell back, Decius fulfilled his vow he repeated a solemn prayer after the pontiff, and then rushed among the Latins, raging like the spirit of destruction, until he fell pierced by their lances The Latins then gave way, though still unconquered The Romans, on the other hand were emboldened by the patriotic death of their consul, and Manlius after having reinforced himself by the reserve, began the decisive battle in which the Latins were overpowered Scarcely the fourth part of their army is reported to have escaped their camp fell into the hands of the Romans, and the number of prisoners chiefly Campanians, was very great

The Campanians surrendered their city soon after the battle, upon tolerable terms, and the Latins, being thus deserted by their allies could not rally till in their flight they reached the town of Vesuvia Numisius the Latin commander, imploring his countrymen not to give up the war, succeeded in calling forth a general rise of the nation with a disorderly army he offered a second battle in the neighbourhood of Minturnae But the victory of the Romans there was so complete that the whole Latin confederacy broke up and the towns surrendered one after another The Latin domain land was distributed among the Roman people but the plebeians seem to have received but stingy portions[8] The Campanian equites 1600 in number, who had remained faithful to Rome received the Roman franchise without the suffrage and Capua was obliged to pay to each of them

[8] Liv viii 12

an annual pension of 400 denarii a remarkable proof of the wealth of that city The Campanian nobles were thus bought over by the Romans It is not known what the Samnites gained by these victories but it is quite incredible that they should have acted the part of mere spectators during the struggles[9]

The town of Antium against which the dictator L. Papirius had conducted a war on the defensive, still continued to hold out and this encouraged the Latin towns which had not yet surrendered as well as others to make a last and desperate attempt to maintain or recover their independence An army of Latins and Volscians assembled near Pedum in B C 339 The consul, Publilius Philo beat the insurgents but Pedum was not taken The Latins however at length gave up the hope of conquering Rome in great battles and each town confined itself to defending its own walls as well as it could till in B C 338 the subjugation of Latium was completed by the consuls C Maenius and L Furius Camillus The Latins laid down their arms and Roman garrisons occupied their towns The Roman senate in order not again to drive the Latins into despair and rebellion, adopted a system of moderation and prudence The Latin nation was divided some were raised to the rank of Roman citizens and thus became alienated from their former friends while the most powerful among the Latin towns were weakened and humbled Thus Aricia, Lanuvium Nomentum and Pedum received the Roman franchise with the suffrage and the two new tribes which were formed soon after contained probably the most favoured districts of Latium. Capua Cumae Suessula, Fundi, and Formiae received the Roman franchise without the suffrage The Antiatans were deprived of their ships and the beaks of the ships which were destroyed were carried to Rome where they were walled in as an ornament of the hustings (*suggestum*) from which the orators addressed the people in the assembly[10] An

[9] Although Livy VIII. 10 asserts the contrary, a name which was afterwards transferred to the hustings themselves.

[10] The beaks of the ships were called *rostra*,

tium became a Roman port colony The walls of Velitrae were pulled down its noble families were sent into exile, and its territory was distributed among the Romans Tibur and Praeneste lost parts of their territories The Latin diets were forbidden, and the right of contracting legal marriages and of holding landed property, was limited for each Latin to his own particular town, that is, in the language of the Romans, the connubium and commercium among the Latin towns were abolished

The two estates of the Roman republic were now fast advancing towards that state of equality which could alone be the basis of Rome's real greatness, and which was opposed only by that faction among the patricians who lamented over the lost privileges of their order, and were incapable of thinking of anything but themselves Q Publilius Philo, who was dictator in B C 339, proposed and carried three laws, which, if they had been proposed by a tribune, would have created the most violent disturbances The first of these laws enacted, that the curiae should confirm the results of legislative measures brought before the centuries, previous to the commencement of the voting upon them in other words the veto of the curiae on any law passed by the centuries was abolished The second law is reported to us in the same terms as the Valerian law of the year B C 449, and the Hortensian of B C 287 namely, that the decrees of the plebs (*plebiscita*) should be binding as laws upon all Roman citizens Its object undoubtedly was to abolish the sanction of the senate and curiae which had hitherto been required The third law ordained that one of the censors should always be a plebeian All these laws were passed in due form, though probably not without violent opposition, and as, two years later, the praetorship was likewise thrown open to the plebeians, internal discord was banished from the republic, and we may date from this time the golden age of Roman virtue and Roman greatness The senate henceforth represents the aristocracy as opposed to the people who consist of patricians and plebeians indiscriminately The last vestiges of plebeian inferiority were

removed in B C 326, when a law was carried that no plebeian (for plebeians alone were affected by the severe law of debt) should become a nexus, that is, pledge his personal liberty for debt,[11] which was further confirmed by the Ogulnian law in B C 300

[11] Liv viii 28

CHAPTER VII

THE SECOND AND THIRD SAMNITE WARS, AND THE WARS AGAINST THE GAULS, ETRUSCANS, AND OTHER ITALIAN NATIONS—INTERNAL HISTORY OF THIS PERIOD

NOTWITHSTANDING her peace and alliance with the Samnites, Rome showed her unfair disposition towards them as early as B C 340, for in that year she concluded a treaty with Alexander of Epirus who had come over to Italy to assist the Tarentines, and had made war against the Samnites In B C 336, a Roman embassy was sent to the Gauls, and concluded a peace with them[1] the object of which again was no other than to be safe on that side in case of a war with Samnium Two years later Cales was occupied by a Latin colony of 2500 men who must be regarded as a garrison on the frontier against Samnium Fundi and Privernum revolted against Rome in B C 330 but both towns were reduced, and a heavy punishment was inflicted on them the surviving inhabitants of Privernum however, received the Roman franchise to prevent their joining the Samnites in a war which Rome knew could not be far distant In B C 329, a Roman colony or garrison was sent to Anxur and in the year following another to Fregellae, which had formerly been a Volscian town, but had been conquered and destroyed by the Samnites, so that its site and territory had become their property All these steps of the Roman senate clearly indicated the existence of a hostile feeling against the Samnites but it was more particularly the establishment of the colony at Fregellae which was felt to be the sore point and the Samnites not only requested the Romans to do away with it but threatened to destroy it

[1] Polyb i 19 comp Liv vi 17 20

The Samnites had for a long time been in alliance with the Greek towns of Palaepolis and Neapolis which were only a few miles distant from each other and formed one state [2] In B C 327, a Roman embassy demanded of the Neapolitans atonement for some acts of violence they had committed in the Campanian and Falernian districts where many Roman plebeians were settled But being urged on by Tarentum and Nola not to yield to Rome but to trust to the Samnites the Neapolitans dismissed the Roman envoys and refused to make any reparations at all. A Roman army under the consul L Cornelius thereupon marched into Campania to watch the Samnites and the wavering conduct of Capua while another army under his colleague Q Publilius Philo appeared before Palaepolis and Neapolis and blockaded them both But provisions were brought into the besieged towns from the sea and 6000 Samnites and Nolanians had thrown themselves into the towns and strengthened their garrisons *The two armies remained in their positions during the winter* but in the spring of B C 326 the Romans demanded of the Samnites to withdraw from the place and give up Fregellae When the Samnites refused the Romans declared war against them, and immediately after strengthened themselves by concluding a treaty and alliance with the Apulians and Lucanians [3] The Samnites made no attempt to relieve Palaepolis no succours came from Tarentum and the Samnite garrison by their pride offended those whom they were to protect Some Palaepolitans, being tired of the war formed a conspiracy and opened the gates to the Romans while the Samnites had previously been induced to quit the town by false pretences Palaepolis was destroyed but Neapolis which likewise threw open its gates concluded a treaty with Rome on favourable terms

The Samnites were indemnified for this loss by the Lucanians renouncing the alliance with Rome and submitting to the

[2] At a later time the name of Neapolis (Naples) seems to have become common for both towns. [3] Liv vi 25

Samnites.[4] It cannot be doubted that the Lucanians and Tarentines took part in the war of the Samnites against Rome, although it is not expressly mentioned. Strabo[5] speaks of the Samnites having ravaged the coast of Latium, and assuming this statement to be true, we must suppose that they used Tarentine vessels for the purpose.

The consul, D. Junius Brutus, marched with his army into Apulia, but met with a desperate resistance on the part of the Vestinians, over whom he gained a dearly-bought victory. He took possession of some towns by storm. As the other consul, L. Furius Camillus, was ill, the command of the army which was to enter Samnium was undertaken by the dictator L. Papirius Cursor, who chose Q. Fabius, afterwards honourably surnamed Maximus, as his master of the horse. Some mistake in the auspices obliging the dictator to return to Rome, Q. Fabius, who supplied his place during his absence, received strict orders not to enter into any engagement with the enemy. But the growing boldness of the latter induced Fabius to fight a battle near Imbrinium. He gained a brilliant victory, and the Samnites are said to have lost 20 000 men on that day. The dictator, on hearing of this, immediately hastened back to the army, and would have employed all the severity of the military law against the offender, had he not been protected by the soldiers, who threatened a revolt, if Fabius should be punished. Fabius escaped to Rome, and it was only by the united entreaties of the senate and people that Papirius could be prevailed on to pardon him. The dictator, who thus yielded against his own will, was looked upon by all parties as a tyrant, and regained the goodwill of the soldiers only by promising them all the booty they should make. He then gained a great victory, and his army indulged in plunder far and wide. The Samnites

[4] What Livy mentions as the origin of this change of mind of the Lucanians, is a childish story, and nothing but one of the many imitations of the ancient story of Zopyrus. It was invented with a view to disgrace the enemies of Rome.

[5] V. p. 232.

now sued for a truce, which was granted for one year, on condition of their clothing the whole of the dictator's army, and giving the soldiers pay for one year

The Samnites are charged by the Roman historians with having broken this truce but the accusation is wholly unfounded[6] The Roman army in Apulia was in the greatest danger as one part of the Apulians had joined the Samnites who after the expiration of the truce seem to have made an incursion into the very heart of Latium which created a panic at Rome Some of the Latin towns joined the enemy and Rome was on the brink of destruction But the Tusculan commander abandoned the Samnites and went over to the Romans for which act he was forthwith honoured with the consulship for B C 322[7] His example was followed by other Latin towns and Rome was thus delivered from the most imminent danger A great battle is said to have been fought by the dictator A Cornelius Cossus in which the Samnites were defeated though not without the greatest efforts of the Romans In the meantime Q Fabius one of the consuls of B C 322 carried on the war with the same success in Apulia he conquered Luceria, and a large number of Samnite and Apulian villages and the Samnites who had occupied Fregellae were obliged to retreat After these reverses the Samnites being seized with a desire of peace resolved to seek it at any cost. The Roman senate demanded that they should recognise the sovereignty of the Roman people This they had not anticipated and unhesitatingly refused to submit on such terms The Romans on the other hand, vowed not to lay down their arms until the Samnites should accept any terms that might be dictated to them

It would seem that these negotiations were carried on during a truce of one year When their results were brought to Samnium rage and hatred gained the upper hand over all other feelings but the cursing of the enemy was mingled with broken

[6] See Niebuhr vol. iii. p 196, &c.

[7] Plin *Hist. Nat* viii. 13.

heartedness. The Samnites, however, resolved to exert every power to maintain their independence, and forthwith laid siege to Luceria: they were on the point of compelling the place to surrender, when, in the spring of B.C. 321, the consuls, T. Veturius and Sp. Postumius, assembled their troops in the neighbourhood of Calatia, in Campania, from whence they intended to march through the mountain passes into Samnium. Apulia was left to itself, as Rome wished to concentrate all her forces against Samnium. The march through the dangerous passes had been arranged as carelessly and thoughtlessly as possible, and when the long column arrived in the narrow valley of Caudium, (*furculae Caudinae*,)[8] the Romans perceived that they were surrounded by swarms of enemies. A fearful battle ensued, in which the Romans were completely defeated and obliged to capitulate.[9] About half the Roman troops were cut to pieces in the battle, and the survivors, being surrounded, were entirely in the hands of the Samnites. The noble-hearted C. Pontius, the general of the Samnites, proposed to the inclosed Romans—he might have massacred them, or kept them as prisoners, and marched against Rome—the following terms of peace:—That the ancient equal alliance between Rome and Samnium should be restored, that all places which belonged to the Samnites before the war should be given up to them, and that the Romans should withdraw the colonies which had been established in them. The terms were accepted, and the consuls swore to the peace in the name of the republic. 600 equites were given to the Samnites as hostages, and the Romans obtained a free departure, but they had to pass under the yoke, which was, in Italy, the ordinary mode of disgracing a defeated army. When the remnants of the army, full of shame, had returned through Campania to Rome, all business private as well as public, was suspended, and all the population

[8] The modern village of Forchia di Arpaia, not far from Benevento.

[9] Livy's account (ix. 5) is disfigured, as he endeavours to conceal the greatness of the loss of the Romans, but the genuine account is preserved in Appian, and traces of it occur in many other writers.

put on mourning The soldiers went away in secret to their homes, and the consuls, after having appointed a dictator for the purpose of presiding at the assembly, were regarded as dishonoured men, and not allowed to discharge any of the functions of their office

It was evident that the carelessness of the consuls had been the cause of the disaster, but as, according to Polybius, Rome was always most formidable after a great misfortune, the senate resolved to sacrifice the 600 hostages, or even more, rather than ratify the peace of Caudium It was accordingly decreed, that all who had sworn to the peace should be delivered up to the Samnites as persons who had deceived them This breach of faith towards the Samnites is a disgrace to the Roman name and wholly unworthy of the people who had consecrated a temple of Faith on the Capitol. The consuls and their companions in misfortune were led before C Pontius, who as well as the Samnite people, refused to receive them and the 600 hostages were either given back or ransomed.

Lucera had been taken by the Samnites either during the affair at Caudium, or soon after, but in B C 320 and the following year, the consul, L Papirius Cursor, gained advantages over the Samnites, as is attested by his triumph He is said to have recovered Lucera, where 7000 Samnites capitulated together with the 600 hostages who were kept there in custody, and where likewise the standards and arms which had been lost at Caudium were recovered But it is more than probable that this account is a mere invention of Roman vanity to show that the defeat of Caudium did not long remain unavenged Satricum, which was occupied by a Samnite garrison was treacherously delivered up into the hands of the Romans and appears to have been destroyed soon after The years B C 318 and 317 passed away under a truce, during which, however the Romans extended their sway in Apulia the towns of Teanum and Canusium submitted to them and gave hostages In the two following years the war was conducted by the dictators L. Aemilius and Q

Fabius Maximus, and the attack which the former made upon Saticula, in the neighbourhood of Capua, was to the Samnites the signal for re commencing the war They took the towns of Pistica and Sora and tried to relieve Saticula, but they were defeated by the Romans in a bloody battle, and Saticula surrendered The Romans now ravaged the enemy's country, and entered Apulia, which henceforth became the scene of the war The Samnites now determined to make a desperate effort to bring the war to a close The hostile armies met at Lautulae the Romans were commanded by the dictator, Q Fabius, the consular army being probably still engaged at Lucera Fabius was defeated, and his army took to flight This defeat induced a number of towns subject to Rome to revolt but the particulars of these occurrences are unknown, as Livy here again passes over a series of reverses, the overcoming of which would have spread more lustre around the Roman name, than this petty and vain concealment We are only told that C Fabius came to the assistance of the dictator with the civic legions, and that both united gained a great victory[1] Whether it was as brilliant as is described may be left undecided, since at any rate, as the battle of Lautulae had not broken down the Romans, the Samnites appear to have lost all hope of ever conquering their enemy in battle, and this feeling may have greatly contributed towards determining the course of events, for henceforth fortune seems to have withdrawn its favour from the Samnites, whose strength gradually sank and decayed under the sufferings of the war From the indefinite accounts we have, it would appear that they were defeated, in B C 314, in several engagements Capua revolted against Rome but the insurrection was soon quelled by an armed force The Ausonians also betrayed hostile feelings towards Rome, but by the treachery of some noble Ausonians, Roman soldiers in disguise were enabled to enter the towns of Minturnae, Vescia, and Ausona, and these opened the

[1] Liv ix 22, &c

however, in the midst of the enemy's country, was not lasting In the north of Samnium the Romans were surprised by an army of Etruscans, and were nearly destroyed, but the veterans, who had been trained in a long war, soon rallied, and made a desperate attack upon the enemy they gained a complete victory, and large herds of cattle fell into their hands as booty In Apulia, too, the Roman arms were successful, but that country was again attacked by the Samnites in B C 310, while the Romans were engaged against the united forces of Etruria C Marcius, the consul, afterward took Alifae, and many other places, though soon after, the Samnites gained a great victory over him, and so completely cut him off from Rome, that not even a messenger could carry the tidings of his defeat to the city In these perilous circumstances L Papirius Cursor was appointed dictator, and with a reserve army hastened to the assistance of the distressed legions in Samnium for a time he merely observed the movements of the enemy, but in the battle which at length ensued, the Samnites were beaten, and obliged to abandon their camp to the victors The dictator's triumph was magnificent, on account of the splendid arms and shields he had taken from the enemy In B C 308, Q Fabius Maximus conducted the war against Samnium and conquered the important town of Nuceria He had also to fight against the Marsians and Pelignians, who declared for the Samnites The Umbrians now also declared war against Rome, but Fabius speedily reduced them to submission, and was thus enabled to continue his operations against her other enemies As the Hernicans and the Aequians at this time began to show a hostile feeling towards Rome, the Samnites conceived fresh hopes, but the reduction of Etruria, with which the Samnites had long wished to form an alliance against the common enemy, was near at hand and Rome's power was irresistible In B C 307, Fabius, as pro-consul, took Alifae, and granted to the Samnites a free departure, but sold their allies as slaves and some Hernicans who were found in the place, were assigned to custody among the Roman allies, as persons guilty of

high treason After Fabius had withdrawn, the Samnites appeared with fresh strength and a numerous army, and Calatia and Sora, with their Roman garrisons, fell into their hands They also conquered Arpinum and Cesennia In the same year the consul L. Volumnius is said to have been victorious in Apulia.

When the senate instituted an investigation into the case of the Hernicans found at Alifae, nearly all the Hernican towns declared war against Rome, and in B C 306, C Marcius was sent against them, while the other consul, P Cornelius, took the field against the Samnites When it was found that P Cornelius was cut off from all communication with Rome, the alarm was so great, that all men capable of bearing arms were called up, and formed into four new legions But Cornelius maintained himself in the heart of the enemy's country so successfully, that his colleague was enabled to bring the war against the Hernicans to a close, and then to join him. C Marcius had had easy work with the Hernicans, for they were as quick in their despondence as they had been in declaring war against Rome he drove them from their strong positions, and compelled them to purchase a truce for thirty days Soon after Cornelius was joined by his colleague, the Samnites were put to flight in all directions, and 30,000 of them are said to have been slain The news of the sudden despair of the Hernicans had induced the Samnites to order a fresh levy to be made throughout the country, but the reinforcements did not arrive till after the battle, when it was too late The Romans then ventured upon another attack, and routed the enemy without much exertion.

The Samnites, having now lost all hopes of success, sued for a truce, which was granted them on condition of their furnishing the whole Roman army with a supply of corn for three months, and with one year's pay and clothing They had hoped to obtain a tolerable peace, but in vain probably because that even now they would not make up their minds to submit to the humiliating demand of Rome to recognise her sovereignty When hostilities were re-commenced, the Romans ravaged Samnium in

a fearful manner, in order to compel the people to seek peace on any terms, but when a great part of Samnium was reduced to a wilderness, the Samnites took revenge by an inroad into Campania, laying waste also the Stellatian and Falernian districts The consuls of the year B C 305 are said to have driven them out of Campania, and afterwards to have defeated them in a great battle near Bovianum, which was taken by storm Sora, Arpinum, and Cesennia, also were re-conquered by the Romans The Samnites were now completely crushed A truce was concluded for the purpose of carrying on negotiations for peace, though the Roman army under P Sulpicius, in B C 304, remained in Samnium In this peace the Samnites acknowledged the majesty of Rome[1], and were obliged to give up their supremacy of Lucania as well as their alliance with the Marsians, Pelignians, Marrucinians, and Frentanians Rome now obtained the right to interfere in all the external relations of her conquered enemy This peace must have been intolerable to the Samnites, but they were so much weakened and reduced, that rest and peace were the only means from which they could hope recovery Rome too, needed relaxation, after a war which had lasted for about twenty years, and the settlement of her internal disorders required peace

The fate of the Hernicans after their subjugation in B C 306, was on the whole the same as that of the Latin towns after the reduction of Latium Three Hernican towns, which had not joined in the revolt retained their own laws and mutual connubium and commercium

During the Samnite war numbers of Aequians had served as mercenaries in the armies of the Samnites and after the reduction of the Hernicans in B C 304, the whole nation of the Aequians openly took up arms for the Samnites Two consular armies marched against them but the Aequians dispersed, despairing of the event of a battle, and the contingent of each town

[1] Livy, ix. 45 says that the ancient alliance with Samnium was restored but this is an absurdity See Dionys *Excerpt de Legat* p 2331 ed Reiske.

returned home to defend its own walls The Aequian towns forty-one in number, were now attacked and conquered one after another in fifty days and most of them were destroyed This speedy conquest induced the Marsians Marrucinians Peligmans and Frentanians to conclude a treaty with Rome The country of the Aequians was made secure by several strong colonies who afterwards drove the people to hopeless revolts During those struggles the Aequians are said to have been nearly annihilated but this cannot have been the case since the Tribus Aniensis and Terentina which were formed in B C 299 consisted of Aequians About the same time Rome concluded a peace with Tarentum, in which it was stipulated, that no Roman ship should sail beyond the Lacinian promontory [17]

The long peace which Etruria observed towards Rome during the early part of the second Samnite war must undoubtedly be ascribed to its internal weakness and to its fear of the Gauls This fortunate circumstance had enabled Rome for a time to direct her whole forces against the south and east, and to keep up a bulwark between herself and the Gauls But as the Gauls in the course of time lost their warlike character in the mild climate of Italy and as they were not averse to a peace which secured to them the undisturbed enjoyment of a rich and fertile country the Etruscans after the defeat of the Romans near Lautulae in B C 315 seem to have conceived the plan of recovering their old dominions as far as the banks of the Tiber They began the war however much too late although the Samnites had undoubtedly urged them on long before All the united forces of the Etruscans advanced towards Sutrium in B C 311 but the army of the consul Q Aemilius relieved the fortress and some time after the hostile armies had met a battle was begun Both parties fought with equal perseverance the Romans were inferior in numbers but the battle ended without either of the belligerents being in a condition to claim the vic

[17] Appian, *Samn* 1 p 56 ed. Schweigh

tory In the year following the consul Q Fabius, commanded the Roman army, and went to relieve Sutrium which was again besieged by the Etruscans The latter hastened to attack him, but he had taken so favourable a position upon an eminence, that when the enemy had ascended half way, the Romans hurled them down and cut off their retreat to the camp which together with its rich booty, became the prey of the Romans who are said to have slain or taken prisoners many thousand Etruscans Sutrium was now relieved and Q. Fabius penetrated further into Etruria A fresh Etruscan army, reinforced by Umbrians assembled in the neighbourhood of Perusia where Fabius again gained a complete victory the three principal towns Perusia Cortona, and Arretium begged for peace and a truce for 30 years was granted to them

After this glorious campaign in which the Etruscans had made the most desperate efforts and in which they lost an enormous number of men the great Fabius celebrated a most brilliant triumph In B C 308 the Etruscans do not appear to have sent an army into the field but Tarquinii obtained a truce for 40 years[12] and after the taking of some other places by the Romans the other Etruscans also concluded a truce for one year Soon after this the Umbrians threatened Rome with a war and Q Fabius who was stationed in Samnium was ordered to lead his troops against them. But they submitted to him without a battle and with unexampled cowardice After the expiration of the truce with the Etruscans we hear nothing of any fresh hostilities between them and Rome for a period of six years the truce therefore must have been prolonged or renewed every year

In the interval between the second and third Samnite wars when Rome was not engaged against any other enemies a swarm of Gauls who had crossed the Alps were induced by their countrymen who had already settled in Italy, to proceed

[12] Diodor xx 44

into Etruria, and the Etruscans prevailed upon them, in B C 299, to march into the Roman territory The Romans were still afraid of meeting the Gauls in the open field, they therefore allowed their territory to be laid waste, and after a short stay, the Gauls, laden with booty, returned across the Apennines [14] The Romans took vengeance for the conduct of the Etruscans in this affair, by ravaging the open country and villages of Etruria

The third Samnite war broke out in B C 298 The Samnites had only been waiting for a favourable opportunity of throwing off the unbearable yoke of Rome for the same reason, the Etruscans abstained from war until Rome should be engaged with other enemies The Samnites had supported the Umbrian town of Nequinum in the war of the Umbrians against Rome, and as the Roman senate, probably from fear of the Gauls, did not take immediate vengeance for this breach of peace, the Samnites became emboldened to venture upon further undertakings, and tried to recover the sovereignty of Lucania That country was accordingly invaded by the Samnites who at the same time endeavoured to gain over other nations by treaties, but in vain the Picentians instead of joining the Samnites, accepted a treaty which was offered to them by the Romans After the Samnites had conquered the Lucanians in several battles the Lucanian nobles placed themselves under the protection of Rome, and promised to obey her commands A Roman embassy was then sent to Samnium to demand the evacuation of Lucania This irritated the Samnites so much that they immediately resolved upon war and bade the Roman envoys quit the country The consul, Cn Fulvius led an army to the assistance of the Lucanians, and in a great battle near Bovianum, he gained a victory over the Samnites, who were far superior to him in numbers and conquered the towns of Bovianum and Aufidena

In the same year in which Cn Fulvius thus distinguished

[14] Polyb II 19

himself in Lucania, his colleague L Cornelius Scipio fought a hard battle near Volaterrae, in which the Etruscan camp and all its stores were taken The conquerors afterwards confined themselves to ravaging the open country, and destroying a number of villages and country towns In B C 297 there seems to have been a truce with Etruria, and Rome was enabled to direct all her forces against the Samnites The two consuls, Q Fabius, the ablest general of the time, and his friend, P Decius Mus, accordingly led their armies into Samnium, the former into the country of the Pentrians, and the latter towards Maleventum Q Fabius was met by the whole army of the enemy, and a battle ensued, in which neither party gained any decisive advantages, until the Samnites, being deceived by the consul's reserve, which they took to be the army of Decius, failed in courage, and were defeated with the loss of upwards of 4700 of their men Decius who had in the meantime found the revolted Apulians encamped near Maleventum gained an easy victory over them, and both consuls now traversed Samnium for five unhappy months, during which the country was ravaged in the most fearful manner In the year following the two consuls had their command prolonged they remained in the enemy's country making several conquests, and Fabius succeeded in gaining over the whole of Lucania to the interests of Rome App Claudius, on the other hand conducted the war in Etruria, for it was well known at Rome that the Samnites had formed the plan of sending an army to that country This army now actually marched out under the command of Gellius Egnatius The Etruscans further strengthened themselves by forming an alliance with the Umbrians, and by engaging Gallic mercenaries in their service App Claudius was scarcely able to resist the ever increasing forces of the enemy, and his situation was highly alarming, until he was joined by his colleague L Volumnius The united Romans now offered battle, which turned out so favourably to Rome that Volumnius was enabled to return to Samnium, leaving only a small army in Etruria to act on the defensive

In the absence of L. Volumnius, the Samnites had invaded Campania; many of the inhabitants of the open country were carried away into slavery, and an immense quantity of booty was taken. Volumnius who hastily returned from Etruria, found the Samnites on the Vulturnus and immediately attacked them. The Romans stormed their camp and pressed upon them on all sides. The defeat of the Samnites, who had been taken by surprise, was very severe. The news of this victory, which saved Rome from the fear of a revolt of her subjects, was received with joy and gratitude. At the same time the Gauls were expected, and under these threatening circumstances Q. Fabius and P. Decius were again raised to the consulship for B. C. 295. Various prodigies frightened the Romans, and two days were devoted to prayers and sacrifices to propitiate the gods. The preparations which Rome made surpassed everything she had done before. Volumnius was still stationed against the Samnites, while all the other forces were directed against the Etruscans, Gauls, Umbrians and the Samnites under Gellius Egnatius. Fabius, on entering Etruria, joined the army of App. Claudius, and restored among the latter a better military discipline, whereby the soldiers themselves were animated with fresh courage and confidence. When all the Roman troops were ready, they were led to join those who under L. Scipio had maintained their position in the face of the enemy. He had been cut off from all communication with Rome, and one legion which had been stationed near Camerinum had been completely annihilated without the consuls being aware of it until the Gauls advanced exhibiting the heads of the slain on their lances. Notwithstanding the consuls succeeded in joining Scipio. What saved Rome, was the want of unity among her enemies, each of whom had his camp apart. At length a great and general battle was fought near Sentinum in Umbria, whither the Romans had advanced with great caution. The battle was fought on a hot summer's day, and the Gallic horsemen and war-chariots made great havoc among the wavering legions; the flight became

general, and a complete defeat of the Romans seemed unavoidable, when Decius, imitating the example of his father in the battle of Mount Vesuvius, ordered himself and the enemy to be devoted by the pontiff M Livius to the gods of Death He then rushed among the enemies and fell, and from that moment the fortune of the day turned The Gauls, being pressed together in one thick mass, were cut down without moving from the spot, and the Samnites fled to their camp The Romans pursued the fugitives with great vigour and vehemence, and the battle was changed into a revengeful massacre Gellius Egnatius fell, and the Samnite camp was taken 25,000 Gauls and Samnites are said to have been slain, and 8000 to have been made prisoners, but the Romans too had lost 8200 men, and were unable to follow up their victory Five thousand Samnites effected their retreat through a hostile country, and reached their homes, after the loss of 1000 in the country of the Peligmans

Q Fabius led back his army across the Apennines into Etruria, where Cn Fulvius had ravaged the territories of Perusia and Clusium, and beaten the Etruscans who attempted to protect those towns Q Fabius now defeated them a second time, near Perusia, in a bloody battle, and took many prisoners on his return to Rome he celebrated a magnificent triumph over the Gauls, Samnites, Umbrians, and Etruscans The Samnites, who had not joined in the northern coalition, had in the meantime, crossed the Liris towards Formiae, and invaded the valley of the Vulturnus, and when Volumnius and App Claudius, after the battle of Sentinum, hastened against them, the country was in such a state that it scarcely afforded the necessary means of subsistence for the Samnites a battle was then fought, in which an enormous number of Samnites are said to have fallen But that their loss in this battle cannot have been very great, is evident from the fact, that in the very next year they were able to send three armies into the field, one of which was destined to enter Etruria

The consuls of the year B C 294, L Postumius and M Atilius

Regulus, marched, according to some accounts, into Samnium, and fought a battle near Lucerna, in which many were slain on both sides, and afterwards one or both of the consular armies marched into Etruria.[13] Both consuls gained triumphs over the Samnites and Etruscans and many of the principal Etruscan towns concluded separate truces with Rome for 40 years In the year following, the war against Samnium was conducted with brilliant success by L Papirius and Sp Carvilius The Samnites now combined the terrors of religion with the compulsory power of their government for the purpose of raising all the forces that their country contained they were resolved to make a last and desperate effort against their enemy, and having enlisted all the men capable of bearing arms, and bound them by the most solemn and fearful oaths, they invaded Campania But the Romans, who marched into the unprotected Samnium compelled the Samnites to return.[14] L. Papirius encamped opposite the Samnites, near Aquilonia, Sp Carvilius blockaded Cominium, and both had agreed to make their attack on the same day When the day came a Samnite detachment was sent off, and the Romans began the battle against the reduced army it was less obstinate than might have been anticipated, the Samnites, believing themselves overwhelmed, fled to their camp, without being able to maintain it, and the scattered troops assembled again at Bovianum L Scipio, by a piece of great boldness made himself master of Aquilonia, and Cominium was taken by storm. The towns were given up to the soldiers for plunder, and then set on fire

The greatness of this victory is evident from its results, though the number of men whom the Samnites are said to have lost is quite incredible.[17] The Samnites indeed continued to fight against the two consuls, but could not unite their forces, and con-

[13] Livy mentions two other accounts of this campaign, but both seem to be less entitled to credit than the one given in our text.

[16] Zonaras, VII. I, whose account seems more credible than that of Livy x. 38 &c.

[17] Liv x. 42

sequently could not gain any decisive advantage The Falscrins had in the meantime, broken the peace with Rome, in consequence of which Sp Carvilius was obliged to lead his army into Etruria his colleague remained in Samnium till the winter when both returned to Rome in triumph The booty which was carried to Rome was very great, and Carvilius had the brass of the Samnite armour worked into a statue of Jupiter on the Capitol, which was of so gigantic a size, that it was visible from the temple of the Alban mount

No sooner had the Roman armies withdrawn from Samnium than the Samnites again invaded Campania, and Papirius after his triumph was obliged to hasten with his army into the Falernian district But soon after his successor, Q Fabius Gurges, undertook the command of the army The Samnites were led by their great and noble general C Pontius who now an old man, still possessed the same energy and skill as in the days of his youth Q Fabius attacked a detachment of the enemy believing it to be their whole army endeavouring to retreat, but he suffered a disgraceful defeat and his army would have been annihilated had the Samnites acted less cautiously This defeat excited at Rome the greatest indignation against Fabius it was doubly felt, because the city had been suffering under an epidemic disease for the last two years, and a war with Etruria was expected every moment to break out The senate decreed that the tribunes should propose to the people to deprive Fabius of his power as a general He was accordingly summoned before the people, but the prayers and entreaties of his aged father Q Fabius Maximus, who had so often led the Romans to victory, procured the people's pardon for him and the aged Fabius himself entered the army as legate of his son Soon after this a battle was fought which decided the contest between Samnium and Rome The Samnites under C Pontius fought with despair, for they well knew that this effort was the last and they would have conquered had not the Romans been commanded by the aged but invincible Fabius. The place of the battle is unknown but

Samnium was renewed but the peace undoubtedly determined still more strictly than before the dependence of Samnium

In the same year the Sabines, who had for a long time been neutral in the wars of Rome, revolted, but were conquered by Postumius Immense tracts of land were acquired for the Roman people, and a very large number of Sabines were made prisoners The other Sabines received the Civitate franchise As Rome had now conquered her enemies and was ruling far and wide over Central Italy the peace she enjoyed affords us an opportunity of casting a glance at the condition of the people and the internal affairs of Rome

On the whole it may be said that owing to the vast military undertakings in which the Romans were constantly engaged the internal peace and harmony of the republic were not much disturbed Now and then the patricians still endeavoured by intrigues to recover the ascendancy over the plebs, and party spirit still burst out occasionally, but it is evident that the power of the patricians was broken and had comparatively speaking become harmless One of the most eventful years in the internal history of Rome was that of the censorship of App Claudius the Blind, B C 312 He seems to have had many enemies in the senate and in revenge he excluded them from the list of senators admitting the sons of freedmen in their stead He further divided all the low people among all the tribes [20] But his list of senators was set aside in the year following by the tribunes, who were unanimous in favour of the former senate His colleague C Plautius a man of weak character, who had allowed himself to be overruled by Appius laid down his office in order to screen his own honour and Appius remained sole censor in defiance of law and custom according to which he too ought to have laid down his office This conduct of App Claudius has commonly been censured as insolence and as an insult offered to

[20] But in B C 304 the censor Q Fabius Maximus removed the whole class of low people from the country tribes, and threw them together into the four city tribes Liv ix 46 Val Max II 2 9 Aurel Vict, *De Vir Illustr* 34

is said to have induced them to instruct public slaves in these ceremonies, in consequence of which the whole Potitian gens, which then contained twelve families, became extinct in a very short time, and Appius himself had to pay for his sin with the loss of his sight

In the censorship of App Claudius, Cn Flavius, a scribe, and son of a freedman, had been raised to the curule aedileship, by the influence of that class of people whom Appius had distributed among all the tribes Cn Flavius, however, had been obliged, previous to his election, to renounce his profession, which at Rome was thought dishonourable to a citizen Until that time, the pontiffs alone had been in possession of the knowledge of the days on which assemblies of the people could be held and justice administered, that is, which days were *fasti* and which *nefasti*, either entirely or in part, and every one had been obliged to apply to the pontiffs for information upon these matters, as often as he was in want of it To avoid such unnecessary trouble, and at the same time check the arbitrary power of the pontiffs, who often abused it for party purposes, Cn Flavius drew up a calendar, in which all *dies fasti* and *nefasti* were marked, and this calendar he exhibited in the forum on a tablet covered with gypsum All the people had reason to be grateful for this great convenience Another benefit he conferred upon the people, was that he made a collection of the formulæ of legal actions (*legis actiones*), which hitherto had been handed down by tradition and of which the patricians had always endeavoured to preserve a knowledge to themselves exclusively In this work he undoubtedly enumerated all the different actions of every kind Flavius is said to have made this collection on the advice of App Claudius,[2] while others went so far as to ascribe the work to Appius himself These services which Flavius rendered to the people made him extremely popular, and the aedileship was the reward he received for it —the greatest triumph which the class to which he belonged could have desired The nobility evinced the deepest grief at

[2] Plin *Hist Nat* xxxiii 6

seeing the sons of those, who had once been the enemies of the republic raised to such honours.

The year of the censorship of Q. Fabius and P. Decius, B.C. 304, when the low people whom Appius had distributed among all the tribes were thrown into the four city tribes, is considered by some[2] to form an epoch in the history of the Roman constitution. The comitia of the centuries had gradually lost much of their importance in proportion as that of the assemblies of the tribes increased; at length a combination of the centuries and tribes was devised to meet the altered exigencies of the time, the centuries being engrafted on the tribes, each of the latter voted as two centuries, one of the seniors, and the other of the juniors.[3] But it is by no means certain that this arrangement was made in the year B.C. 304; on the contrary, there is evidence that it

From B C 293 to 291, Rome was visited by a famine and an epidemic disease as the latter did not cease the Sibylline books were consulted and a command was found in them to fetch the god Aesculapius from Epidaurus in Peloponnesus to Rome Ten ambassadors accordingly were sent to Epidaurus and the god in the form of a gigantic serpent went of his own accord to the Roman ship and was conveyed to Rome where he disappeared in the island of the Tiber, on which a temple was erected to him

We have already remarked that attempts still continued to be made occasionally by haughty and obstinate patricians such as App Claudius and Sp Postumius to upset the Licinian law respecting the division of the consulship but infringements of the agrarian law of Licinius must have been of far more frequent occurrence as we may infer from the fact that the haughty Sp Postumius employed 2000 men on his possession of the public land Several instances also are recorded in which the transgressors were punished with heavy fines After the reduction of Latium we hear no more of assignments of land the establishment of numerous colonies from which poor citizens derived benefit if they joined the settlers answered the same purpose Assignments are again spoken of after the conquest of the country of the Sabines in B C 290 when each citizen received a lot of seven jugera for M Curius refused to give more to the discontented people although there still remained a great quantity of public land which was not distributed he himself took a farm in the Sabine district which was not larger than that of any other citizen and on which he was afterwards found roasting his turnips when the Samnite ambassadors came to offer him their gold The assignments in the Sabine country were made at a time when the people were in urgent want of some improvement in their domestic affairs but it came in reality too late The long continued wars which Rome had been carrying on had exhausted the very marrow of the nation and destroyed its pros

perity many thousands whose lands had been laid waste and who had been obliged to ransom their friends from slavery, had fallen into extreme poverty and many families must have been bereaved of their fathers and supporters, or at least were deprived of their support during the incessant campaigns the calamities arising from war were completed by scarcity and epidemics This state of things produced disorders to relieve which some tribunes even thought it necessary to propose a general cancelling of debts Matters indeed went so far that the commonalty were induced to secede and encamp on the Janiculum in B C 287 At length Q Hortensius was appointed dictator to put down the insurrection by conciliatory means One of these means was the celebrated Hortensian law which gave to the decrees of the plebs the power of a law binding on the whole nation [27] The point in which this law differed from the Publilian is probably the fact, that Hortensius abolished the veto of the senate upon those legislative measures which had been passed by the plebeian assembly The secession of the plebs which gave rise to this law is the last that occurs in Roman history

During the period we have just been speaking of the Romans must have made considerable progress in the fine arts C Fabius surnamed Pictor made a painting in the temple of Salus probably representing one of the battles with the Samnites which is praised for the great correctness of its drawing and for the gracefulness of its colouring The excellent bronze figure of the Capitoline she wolf with the two babes which still exists is probably the same as the one mentioned by Livy [28] which was dedicated by the aediles Cn and Q Ogulnius This figure of the she wolf and the sarcophagus of Scipio Barbatus which belongs to about the same time give us a high idea of the character of the works of art which were produced in Rome at

[27] Plin. *Hist Nat* xvi 15 Gellius xxv 27 Caius, I 3

[28] X 23 Some archæologists ascribe this she-wolf to a still earlier date Zonar viii 2 comp Dion Cass *Fragm.* 146 p 60 ed t. Reimar Oros III 22

that early time Rome was then adorned with many splendid buildings and works of art, and if we except the transitory poverty of certain classes the state was rapidly increasing in wealth and prosperity Greek religious rites were freely introduced at Rome, and there can be little doubt that the Romans, though yet without a literature of their own, were well acquainted with that of the Greeks

CHAPTER XIII

WARS WITH THE GAULS, ETRUSCANS, LUCANIANS, AND BRUTTIANS—THE FOURTH SAMNITE AND THE TARENTINE WARS—PYRRHUS—SUBJUGATION OF ALL ITALY, AND THE RELATIONS OF THE ITALIANS TO ROME.

After the third Samnite war, Rome enjoyed a short interval of peace with her foreign neighbours, though her internal tranquillity was disturbed by the last secession of the plebs in B C 287, which led to the laws of Q Hortensius But a new enemy was rising in the south of Italy, who, although not yet venturing on open war with Rome, was watching for an opportunity, and contriving to stir up others against Rome, in order thereby to facilitate his own victory in the end Things however turned out differently, and Rome went forth from the struggle the sovereign of Italy

In the tenth year after the battle of Sentinum, B C 285, the Gauls incited by the Tarentines and the Volsinians[1], entered Etruria, and laid siege to Arretium The Romans sent out an army to relieve the place, but their legions were defeated, and the praetor, L. Caecilius, was slain He was succeeded by M' Curius, who sent ambassadors to the Gauls for the purpose of negotiating a ransom for the prisoners, but the barbarians, contrary to the laws of nations, put the ambassadors to death. This outrage provoked the anger and indignation of the Romans, who forthwith sent a fresh army into the country of the Senones, and this time they were victorious the Senones were completely defeated, the Romans took possession of their country, destroyed

[1] Zonar viii. 2, comp Dion Cass. *Frag* 146 p. 60 edit. Reimar, Oros. III 22

almost every trace of cultivation, and secured their conquest by the establishment of the colony of Sena[2] The Senones were nearly annihilated, and this fearful catastrophe of the people who had once conquered Rome roused the Boians, another Gallic tribe, to revenge their whole nation took up arms, and marched into Etruria, in the direction of Faesulae They were joined by the few remnants of the Senones, and by the Etruscans, who seized that moment as a favourable opportunity for recovering their independence This formidable army marched against Rome The Romans met the enemy near Lake Vadimo, and gained a decisive victory, for most of the Etruscans were cut to pieces, and few of the Boians escaped The latter however did not yet despair, and having armed all who were capable of bearing arms, they returned to Etruria[3] The scene of the war was now transferred to the neighbourhood of Populonia, B C 282, and the Romans would have been annihilated had it not been for the watchfulness of the consul Q Aemilius Papus who fought alone against the enemy, while his colleague, C Fabricius was engaged against the revolted nations of southern Italy Aemilius gained a victory, after which the Boians sued for peace, which was willingly granted to them by the Romans, as their troops were wanted in other quarters

The submission of the Gauls was soon after followed by that of the Etruscans though the towns of Volsinii and Vulci continued their hostilities for some years longer, and peace was not completely restored in Etruria till B C 280 after Pyrrhus had conquered the Romans near Heraclea This circumstance induced Rome to grant to the Etruscans a peace on the most favourable terms Henceforth Etruria remained faithful to Rome for nearly two centuries, during which its prosperity appears to have greatly increased

[2] Polyb ii 19 Appian, *Gall.* p 83, ed Schweigh, Livy, *Epit* xii says that the Roman ambassadors were sent to the Gauls while they were besieging Arretium, and before the outbreak of the war and that their object was to persuade the Gauls to abstain from hostilities towards the place

[3] Polyb i 20

Meanwhile the Lucanians, who were still in a state of independence, had been prevailed upon to make war against Thurii, and as this town could not hope to be supported by any of the other Greek towns in southern Italy, it applied to Rome for protection The Romans were not slow in obeying the call, which afforded them an opportunity of extending their dominion But it was not an easy matter to relieve Thurii, and in addition to this difficulty, which arose from the situation of the place, the southern Italians who again conceived a hope of destroying the power of Rome, formed a league, which is said to have been planned by Tarentum, and in which the Etruscans Umbrians, and Gauls were expected to join The Romans, on hearing of the negotiations which were carried on among these nations, used all possible precautions to prevent their own allies from joining the enemy But the Samnites, who hoped to recover their independence, entered into the coalition

In B C 282, when the Lucanians in conjunction with the Bruttians were besieging Thurii, the consul C Fabricius undertook, with an inferior army, the relief of the place, but when he was on the point of fighting a pitched battle, his soldiers began to despair at seeing the far superior numbers of the enemy Their courage however, was roused by a supernatural occurrence, for a youth of gigantic size was seen carrying a scaling ladder to the ramparts of the enemy's camp and mounting it He was believed to be the god Mars, who had come to the assistance of his desponding Romans This occurrence discouraged the besiegers as much as it rejoiced the Romans who were now sure of victory; and the result of the battle was the relief of Thurii, which evinced its gratitude to its deliverers by erecting a statue of C Fabricius[4] Statilius the commander of the enemy's forces, was taken prisoner, together with a great number of his troops and a still greater number lay on the field of battle Besides this great victory, Fabricius gained many others over the confederates and the Samnites, he took many towns and the booty he made

[4] Plin, *Hist Nat* xxxv 19

was so great that, after a large portion had been distributed among the soldiers, and the tribute which the citizens had paid for that year had been returned to them, there still remained an immense sum of money which he brought into the public treasury

Thurii received a Roman garrison, but as soon as the Roman army had withdrawn from Lucania the town was cut off from communication with Rome except by sea[4] In the treaty with Tarentum it had been stipulated that Rome should not send any armed vessels beyond the Lacinian promontory, but the necessity of assisting Thurii outweighed every other consideration, and ten ships under the duumvir L Valerius, appeared in that part of the sea The Romans so little heeded the treaty with Tarentum, that their squadron steered towards its harbour without any apprehension But the people of Tarentum, who happened to be assembled in the theatre, which as in all Greek towns overlooked the sea, were so enraged at the sight of the Roman ships, that the multitude rushed to their own galleys, and attacked the Roman squadron, which being unprepared for resistance took to flight Only five of the Roman ships escaped, four were sunk, and one was taken; the captains and marines were murdered, and the rowers carried off as slaves Hereupon the Tarentines immediately sent a force against Thurii which, being now entirely deprived of the support of Rome, was obliged to throw its gates open to the enemy The Roman garrison was dismissed, but the most distinguished citizens were exiled, and the town was plundered[5] This happened in the year B C 282

The Roman senate desirous if possible to avoid a war in southern Italy so long as peace was not restored in Etruria sent an embassy to Tarentum with as moderate demands as the dignity of the republic would allow The Tarentines were requested to restore the prisoners to freedom to indemnify Thurii for the losses it had sustained and to surrender the instigators of the crime When the Roman ambassadors were introduced into the

[5] Appian, *Samnit* p 57, ed Schweigh , comp Strab vi p 263.

popular assembly they were received with shouts of laughter and with insult and were at length driven away without receiving any answer. Q. Postumius their spokesman on leaving the assembly was insulted in the grossest and most indecent manner by a person who soiled his garment. Postumius turned back and showed his garment to the people and as their laughter continued he said, "Laugh on as long as you can you will have time enough to cry." As the populace became infuriated by this threat he added "And that you may become still more enraged I tell you that this garment will be washed in torrents of your blood." Hereupon the ambassadors returned to Rome where the conduct of the Tarentines excited the greatest indignation. But under the circumstances it was difficult to decide upon the mode of action. Long deliberations took place in the senate but in B.C. 281 the consul L. Aemilius Barbula marched with an army to Tarentum to repeat the terms of peace having at the same time orders to prosecute the war with energy if the Tarentines should reject the proposed terms.

By this time the Messapians had joined the Tarentines in the league against Rome. When the consul arrived on the frontier of the Tarentine territory he offered peace on the terms which had been proposed by the ambassadors but it was to no purpose and as he did not take immediate vengeance the Tarentines fancied that he despaired of the event of a battle and that now the moment had come for crushing for ever the power which threatened to destroy the independence of the Italian nations. The expectation of a general coalition against Rome however was not realised and the Tarentines themselves now could not avoid taking part in the war with an army which they had to hire. They turned their eyes to Pyrrhus king of Epirus the ablest general of the time and an embassy was accordingly sent to him. Pyrrhus was not one of the ordinary leaders of mercenaries at that time his object in accepting the proposal of the Tarentines probably was to found for himself a kingdom in Italy. However before he arrived with his auxiliary force the Taren

times were thoroughly beaten and several of their fortified places fell into the hands of the Romans Soon after Milo one of Pyrrhus's generals arrived at Tarentum with 3000 Epirots, who occupied the citadel, and afterwards, in conjunction with the Tarentines attacked the Roman army on its retreat from Lucania, but though the Romans were in a most dangerous position nothing of any consequence was achieved by their enemies

When Pyrrhus crossed over to Italy in B C 281,[6] he was thirty seven years old He had received an excellent education and among the sovereigns of the time he was the only one that was really worthy of the kingly dignity He possessed the art of winning the affections of all who approached him, and had not only the good luck of finding sincere friends, such as Cineas but the wisdom to retain them and listen to their counsels He was greater in battles than in the management of campaigns He had confidence in his genius and his art, and his object always was to gain an advantage rather than to follow it up scrupulously or keep it when gained He arrived in Italy with an insufficient army consisting of 20 000 foot 3000 horse 20 elephants and a number of slingers and bowmen He expected however, to be joined by a large army of the Italian confederates, and it was further believed that the war with Etruria would divide the forces of Rome and cause her subject towns to revolt The Romans sent eight legions into the field L Aemilius Barbula carried on the war against the Samnites as pro consul while P Laevinus one of the consuls of the year B C 280 marched against Tarentum and Pyrrhus and his colleague Tib Coruncanius concluded the war in Etruria What Rome had to dread, even more than the numbers of her enemies was the great generalship of Pyrrhus and his Macedonian tactics which were as yet unknown to the Romans On his arrival at Tarentum Pyrrhus had assumed dictatorial power which was absolutely

[6] Polyb ii 19 Liv *Epit* xii vi 6) places the landing of Pyrrhus Gellius xvii 21 Pliny (*Hist Nat.* one year earlier

necessary to compel the luxurious and idle Tarentines to take an active part in the war the popular assemblies were suspended, the theatres closed, and all persons capable of bearing arms were trained in military exercises

The Roman consul P Laevinus led his army into Lucania, resolving not to wait for an attack of the king and his allies He was at first successful and prevented the Lucanians from uniting their forces with those of the king, nay, he felt strong enough to send the Campanian legion, under Decius Jubellius, to Rhegium, the only Greek town in Italy that espoused the cause of Rome Pyrrhus, who wished to defer a decisive battle till he was joined by his allies, wrote to the consul, and demanded to be accepted as arbitrator between the Romans and the Tarentines Laevinus answered, that the king himself must first make amends for having invaded Italy, and that war must decide between them The hostile armies met on the banks of the Liris, a small river between Pandosia and Heraclea, and the consul was compelled, by the fear of scarcity among his troops, to force the battle The Romans fought like lions seven times did both armies advance and retreat alternately, but the Thessalian cavalry of Pyrrhus and his elephants, the formidable aspect of which broke the courage of the Romans, decided the day the Romans took to flight and no one would perhaps have escaped had not a wounded elephant in his fury turned against his own men and stopped their pursuit Pyrrhus took the enemy s camp without resistance he had gained indeed a most complete victory On the following day he visited the field of battle and seeing the bodies of the Romans all of whom had fallen with their faces towards the enemy he exclaimed, ' With such soldiers the world would be mine, and it would belong to the Romans if I were their commander" But the best part of his own army had fallen and to those who congratulated him on his victory, he replied, "One more such victory and I should be obliged to return to Epirus without a single soldier" He proposed to the Roman captives that they should serve in his army, but all refused and

he ordered the bodies of the dead to be burned and buried like those of his own soldiers Of the Romans 7000 are said to have fallen and only 4000 of their enemies Pyrrhus gave his allies a part of the spoils, and dedicated another part to Zeus at Tarentum, with the inscription

> The men till then unconquer'd, best Olympian father!
> Have I in battle conquer'd, and they, too, conquer'd me [7]

The immediate consequence of this victory was that the Italians, and Roman subjects the Apulians, Lucanians and a number of separate towns, openly joined Pyrrhus Decius Jubellius, the commander of the Campanian legion at Rhegium, charged the inhabitants of the place with intending to desert the cause of Rome, and Rhegium was treated in consequence like a hostile town taken in war the men were put to the sword, and the women and children made slaves Jubellius and his men, from that moment ceased to regard themselves as Romans and uniting with the Mamertines who had taken possession of Messina a few years before in the same way, established themselves as an independent state and took no part in the war against Pyrrhus until it touched their own territory Pyrrhus, who disliked long protracted wars, and was anxious to accomplish as much as possible by persuasion, sent his eloquent friend and minister Cineas, to Rome with proposals of peace while he himself in the meantime collected the forces of his Italian allies Cineas, on his arrival at Rome offered peace with Pyrrhus and the Tarentines, on condition that Rome should recognise the independence of all the Greek towns in Italy and that the Samnites Apulians, and Lucanians should receive back all that the Romans had taken from them After Cineas had delivered his proposals and while the Romans were hesitating as to what course to pursue the aged App Claudius the Blind, in an energetic speech frustrated the plans of the cunning Greek who was obliged to quit the city *forthwith* *What he had seen at Rome* filled him with amaze

[7] Orosius, iv 1

to negotiate with the king for the liberation of his prisoners, and Pyrrhus, who was desirous to conclude the war in an honourable manner, received them kindly on the frontier of the Tarentine territory The proposal of the Romans to exchange the prisoners or to accept a ransom, was rejected, but the king allowed all the prisoners, together with the three ambassadors to go to Rome for the purpose of celebrating the festival of the Saturnalia, adding, that if the senate would accept his terms, they might remain at Rome and be free but they had to pledge their word to return, if by a certain day the senate should not have agreed to his terms The prisoners, during their stay at Rome, exerted all their powers to induce their fellow citizens to make peace with Pyrrhus, but in vain they were obliged to return into captivity, and the senate declared that any one who should be untrue to his word and attempt to remain should be put to death All without a single exception therefore returned to Pyrrhus

The king opened the campaign of the year B C 279, by laying siege to several places in Apulia The two consuls P Sulpicius and P Decius Mus, hastened with their forces to relieve those places and met the enemy in the neighbourhood of Asculum For some time the armies faced each other without any inclination to engage in a battle but when it commenced the Romans made almost incredible efforts and fought during the whole day The losses on both sides were very great and Pyrrhus himself was wounded at length however, he gained a victory, notwithstanding the self sacrifice of Decius who is said to have imitated the example of his father and grandfather[3] Six thousand Romans lay on the field of battle, and the king lost 3500 men but the victory was useless and Pyrrhus, not venturing to attack the Roman camp withdrew to Tarentum it had now become evident to him that he could place no reliance on his Italian allies and he spent the remainder of the year in inactivity His conduct may to some extent have been the conse

[3] Cic. *Tusc.* i. 37 *de Fin.* ii. 19

Carthaginians, but from the tyrants who, after the death of Agathocles disputed the sovereignty of the city one with another, sword in hand Pyrrhus's object was to drive the Carthaginians from the island and to establish himself in it, and he might have gained his end had he not been misled by his Sicilian advisers and had not the faithlessness of the Sicilian Greeks thwarted his undertakings After a stay of three years in the island he returned to Italy, laden with immense booty, of which however the greater part was lost in a storm before he reached the coast of Italy

The Roman prisoners whom Pyrrhus had sent back before embarking for Sicily were treated by their countrymen as infamous and every one of them had to perform the most arduous duties in the camp until he should recover his honour by bringing the spoils of two enemies During the absence of Pyrrhus the Romans reduced to submission and punished their revolted subjects thus in B C 278 C Fabricius gained victories over the Lucanians Bruttians Tarentines and Samnites and he was honoured with a triumph In the year following the consuls P Rufinus and C Junius Bubulcus carried on the war in Samnium taking several of the towns which still held out and spreading devastation wherever they appeared The Samnites had carried their women children and property into inaccessible mountain districts and the Romans who endeavoured to gain possession of them suffered severe losses Hereupon Rufinus marched into Lucania and laid siege to Croton whither the portion of the citizens favourable to Rome had invited him The town was soon after taken by treachery and the general Nicomachus escaped to Tarentum after having sustained a severe loss Locri also went over to the Romans In B C 276, the consul Q Fabius triumphed over the Samnites Lucanians and Bruttians, and the distressed Italians implored Pyrrhus to come to their assistance Pyrrhus was glad thus to obtain a pretext for leaving Sicily, but in the straits he was met by a Carthaginian fleet, which sank seventy of his ships and only

twelve escaped to the coast of Italy between Rhegium and Locri. After his landing he suffered another great loss from the Mamertines who were waiting for him in the narrow mountain passes with a large army Locri however, was compelled to surrender to him and was severely chastised. From Locri he went with an army of 20 000 foot and 3000 horse to Tarentum but these troops were chiefly fickle Greeks for his brave Epirots had fallen in the battles he had fought The Romans however were seized with the same consternation and alarm when they heard of his return as they had been at the time when he arrived from Epirus

In B C 275 two consular armies marched into the field one was led by M Curius Dentatus into Samnium, the other by L Cornelius Lentulus into Lucania Pyrrhus who was strengthened by all the Tarentines capable of bearing arms advanced against Curius Dentatus he was also joined by a Samnite army, which however was weak and despondent He contrived to keep Lentulus at a distance from his colleague in order that he might first fight against the latter alone Curius Dentatus occupied a strong and fortified position near Beneventum but was not inclined to venture upon a battle until he should be joined by his colleague Pyrrhus and his general on the other hand, were impatient of delay During the night a part of the king's troops tried by a round about way to reach the top of the hill above the Roman camp but matters had been badly calculated, and it was already broad day light when they descended from the heights Curius resolved to meet the hostile troops who were in disorder and fatigued by the night march. His plans were well founded, for soon after the contest had begun the king s troops fled, and numbers of them were slain. Curius now emboldened, began the battle against the main force of the enemy in the plain Pyrrhus was completely defeated his camp was taken two elephants were killed, and four were taken alive which afterwards adorned the consul s triumph Pyrrhus himself reached Tarentum with only a few horsemen as his allies in Lucania were

equally unfortunate, he endeavoured to obtain succours from the kings of Macedonia and Syria, but his expectations were not realised, and he was obliged to abandon Italy Milo with the garrison at Tarentum remained behind A report, that the reinforcements which Pyrrhus had solicited were on their way to Italy, enabled him to keep his fleet ready to take his troops back to Epirus The army which he led back consisted of only 8000 foot and 500 horse, and the want of money to pay them drove him into new adventures in Greece, until he was killed at Argos in a battle against Antigonus, in B C 273 He was one of the greatest generals of antiquity, but he neglected the welfare of his own kingdom, and hurried from one giddy adventure into another until he perished

After the departure of Pyrrhus, the Romans for a time abstained from prosecuting the war against his allies, for they wanted rest, being exhausted by their preceding exertions Meantime the Tarentines, tired of their Epirot garrison, conspired against Milo, but as their plan failed, their leaders made their escape and concluded peace with the Romans In B C 272, the Romans at length resolved to put an end to the war in southern Italy The consuls L Papirius Cursor and Sp Carvilius accomplished this object the Samnites, Lucanians, and Bruttians did homage to the majesty of Rome, for the death of Pyrrhus appears to have destroyed all their hopes The Tarentines now secretly applied to the Carthaginian commanders in Sicily for assistance, and while Papirius was encamped before the town, a Carthaginian fleet appeared at the entrance of its harbour Milo, to whom the Carthaginians and Romans were no less hostile than the Tarentines themselves nevertheless prevailed upon the latter to choose him to negotiate a peace with C Fabricius But he acted only for himself, and betrayed the Tarentines, for when all the points were announced to be settled, the people of Tarentum learned with amazement that the Romans were in possession of the citadel while Milo under their protection, departed for Epirus with his treasures Tarentum was now obliged to surrender,

But the Romans treated the town with more mildness than it deserved they seem to have feared lest the Tarentines should call in the aid of the Carthaginians who in their envy and jealousy of Rome would have been glad of an opportunity of directing their arms against her Tarentum remained free but its walls were broken down and its ships and arms taken away The triumph after this war brought to Rome many luxuries and from this time we must date a great change in the manners and mode of living among the Romans Livius Andronicus the earliest Roman dramatist, whose first play was performed about thirty years later was one of the prisoners that were carried from Tarentum to Rome The fall of Tarentum was soon followed by that of Rhegium which was still in the hands of the Campanian legion It was blockaded by the consul Genucius in B C 271 who at the same time contrived to separate the Mamertines from them by a treaty After a long siege the town was taken by storm the greater number of the Campanians fell by the sword, and all the deserters that were found among them were immediately put to death The surviving Campanians 300 in number were sent to Rome in chains and there they were scourged and beheaded The remaining citizens of Rhegium had their town, and their property as far as it was possible restored to them.

In B C 268 the last Samnite war blazed forth from the ashes The Samnites had been obliged to send hostages to Rome: Lollius one of them had escaped to the mountains of his native country and there gathered round himself a band of robbers and others who had no choice between a wretched life and death Two consular armies took the field against the rebels who had scarcely heard of the approach of the enemy before they gave up their senseless enterprise The leaders of the insurrection were beheaded and the other prisoners were sold. In the same year the Picentians revolted against Rome but were soon conquered, and their whole country with its capital of Asculum was reduced to submission. In B C 266 the Sallentines were

likewise subdued, and Brundusium fell into the hands of the Romans

These conquests, which where secured by a number of colonies, completed the subjugation of Italy But before peace was restored throughout the peninsula, Rome had to make one more effort The Etruscan town of Volsinii was under the protection of Rome The slaves and freedmen of that place had raised themselves to an equality with their lords, on whom they probably wreaked their vengeance in a very cruel manner Q Fabius Gurges was sent out with an army to the assistance of the aristocracy, and conquered the enemy in the field, but lost his life in an unsuccessful attempt to storm the town, which was now closely besieged But it was not taken till the year following its defenders fell into the hands of the Romans, and were put to death as rebellious slaves, or delivered up to their former masters Volsinii was razed to the ground, and the surviving Volsinians were transplanted to another but unfortified place

After struggles which had lasted for nearly five centuries, Rome thus succeeded in making herself mistress of the peninsula of Italy We might believe that the dominion of Italy, compact and separated as it is from other countries, would have satisfied the Romans, and that as a people, they might perhaps have remained happier and purer within the natural boundaries of the peninsula, but they were called to greater things, even to determine the fate of the world The possession of Italy required to be secured from without, and the threatening position of Carthage, which strove to extend its dominion over south western Europe, and had already manifested a desire to interfere, from Sicily with the affairs of Italy, could hardly permit the Romans to look on quietly hence the Roman senate can scarcely be blamed for taking the first favourable opportunity of waging a war with Carthage, which could, after all, be only delayed, not avoided All the nations of Italy from the straits in the south to the river Macra in the north, now obeyed the commands of Rome The country north of Etruria and Umbria was inhabited by

Ligurian and Celtic tribes, which were yet free and unsubdued. In what manner the affairs of the conquered people were regulated is not known in every case, but we have good reason to believe, that in general it was done in a prudent and moderate manner, for during the whole of the first Punic war, which immediately followed the subjugation of Italy, we do not hear of any movement of a single Italian town or nation against Rome, and previous to the arrival of Hannibal, the country was more prosperous and flourishing than ever after Since all Italy now formed, so to speak, one state, the different parts of which enjoyed different rights and privileges, according to the different ways in which they had come to recognise the sovereignty of Rome, we shall here subjoin a brief account of the various relations in which the Italians stood to Rome

From within, Rome secured her possessions and conquests by the establishment of numerous colonies in the countries of her conquered enemies, for it was the policy of the Romans, who never rose to the idea of an Italian nationality, but ever retained that of a sovereign city, to endeavour to reduce their subjects to a condition in which they should be prevented, as much as possible, from revolt, and be required to serve their sovereign wherever it was needed Their freedom and their territory were generally taken from them, and where these were not taken away, they were left to the conquered as the *gifts* of the Romans their national feelings were destroyed in order to render them the fitter instruments for their rulers The maxim expressed by Virgil,[11] "*Parcere subjectis ac debellare superbos,*' was followed by the Romans from the earliest times with the appearance of fairness and disinterestedness they treated their subjects, and those oppressed by others, in a manner which was sure to make them their faithful allies, while those who ventured to offer resistance, and to maintain or recover their independence, were visited with almost inhuman cruelty

The towns which possessed the Roman franchise were called

[11] *Aen.* vi. 854.

municipia, and their citizens *municipes*. All towns of this kind, however, were divided into three classes: the first comprised those which had the Roman franchise (*civitas*), but whose citizens had neither the right to vote in the assemblies at Rome, nor to hold any magistracy there; such towns were Fundi, Formiae, Cumae, Acerrae, Lanuvium and Tusculum. Municipia of the second class were those which were completely incorporated with the Roman state, as was the case with Anagnia, Caere, and Aricia: these had no separate administration of their own internal affairs, whereas those of the first class retained their own constitutions and magistrates. The third class of municipia were those whose inhabitants might go to Rome and there exercise *all* the rights of Roman citizens, and yet retain at home their own administration, as was the case with Tibur, Praeneste, Pisa, and many other towns.

The colonies (*coloniae*) stood to Rome in the relation of children to a parent, and formed a kind of miniature copies of the city of Rome itself. A Roman colony differed from a colony, in the modern sense of the word, by the fact, that the former was established in a town or city which had been already inhabited, before its occupation by the Romans, and was never founded without a decree of the senate, whereas a modern colony usually settles in a yet uninhabited district. The colonists, who were sent into such a town as a garrison, usually received the third part of its territory as their full property, the remainder being left to the original inhabitants of the place, who became the subject people, while the colonists formed the ruling body. The ordinary number of colonists sent to one particular place was 300, and each received two jugera of land; but this regulation was often modified, according to circumstances. We must distinguish between two kinds of colonies, viz. Roman colonies (*coloniae civium Romanorum*) and Latin colonies (*coloniae Latinae*). The settlers might be the same in both, but the political rights of the two kinds of colonies were different. A person going out with a Roman

colony retained the same rights which, as a citizen, he would have had at Rome. It seems also that a person could join a Roman colony only by his free consent and that he could not be compelled to it. The rights enjoyed by a Latin colony were the same as those possessed by a *Latinus* and altogether of an artificial kind, inasmuch as they were rights devised and granted by the Roman senate. A Latin colony might consist of Roman citizens, Latins, Hernicans, or any other allied nation, but those Roman citizens who joined in it (they could not be compelled to do so) lost their full franchise as Romans, which, however, they might easily recover.

Another class of towns were the prefectures (*praefecturae*) or towns which were by no means reduced to perfect political dependence. They continued to form distinct political communities to which Rome sent annual prefects (*praefecti*) to administer justice to the Romans residing in them. Such a town, however, might be a municipium or a colony, it was only on account of the prefect that it differed from other Italian towns, and its inhabitants might be in the enjoyment of the full Roman franchise.

The Latins in Latium and the different Latin colonies, are often designated by the expression *nomen Latinum*; these must be distinguished from the allies or *socii*. Both together are mentioned by the name *socii nomen Latinum*, that is *socii et nomen Latinum*. By a singular mistake some writers have changed this into the senseless *socii nominis Latini*, forgetting the ordinary practice of the Romans to omit the copulative *et* as in the case of *populus Romanus Quirites*. The *socii* or allies were either *foederati*, that is, people whose rights were secured by treaties with Rome, and by mutual oaths, or *liberi*, that is people to whom after their subjugation, the Roman senate had granted their full independence or autonomy, and whose rights in consequence, had no other security than the goodwill of the Romans. The inhabitants of places taken by the sword, or of towns which had been com-

pelled to surrender at discretion, were *dediticii*: they no longer formed distinct political bodies, they had no freedom nor commercium, they were a kind of serfs of the Roman people, they had lost their own landed property, and were not allowed to acquire any elsewhere, so that they gradually decayed and crumbled away

CHAPTER XIV.

The constitution of the Roman republic, which had at first been an oppressive aristocracy, and had gradually become a mild and temperate form of democracy, had by this time reached its highest perfection, and on the whole, it may be said, that this state of perfection continued down to the end of the Punic wars, when Polybius[1] himself a great statesman, saw its working, and admired it. The manner in which the constitution had been developed and brought to that point by many commotions, struggles, and secessions of the commonalty, and by the most strenuous exertions of their tribunes has been related in the preceding part of this history: it only remains here to make a few general observations upon its character and working.

The Roman constitution was not a written document, such as has been drawn up in modern times in several continental states, but like the English constitution it was gradually and practically developed out of slender elements. Some parts of it indeed, were settled by written laws and compacts between the two orders, but others consisted in traditionary forms and customs, which were hallowed by time, and revered by the Romans as sanctioned by the practice of their forefathers (*more majorum*). Hence we cannot expect that everything should have been accurately defined, and hence owing to the loss of so many ancient authors and public documents we are unable to describe every point with

[1] Polyb. vi. 11.

that precision which we could desire The political power was so widely and wonderfully distributed among the several bodies of which the republic consisted, viz, the senate, the magistrates, and the remaining body of the citizens, that there could be no fear either of anarchy or military despotism, for each of these three powers was at once a check upon and a support of the others, and it was the interest of each to win and preserve the goodwill of the others, the great plans of the republic could not be carried out otherwise than by the harmonious co-operation of all parties The consuls carried into effect the decrees of the senate, convoked the people to the assembly, levied the troops, determined the contingents which the allies had to furnish for the armies, and punished the offences committed by the soldiers during the time of their service The sums necessary for military purposes were voted by the senate, and when this was done, the consuls demanded that the quaestors or public treasurers should take the money from the treasury The senate had the administration of the finances, or of the revenue and expenditure of the state and controlled the accounts of the censors and quaestors The senate further was the high court of justice, which tried all crimes committed against the state, settled the disputes among the allies, and sent ambassadors to, and received ambassadors from, foreign powers The number of ambassadors sent by the senate was usually three or ten they formed as it were, a select committee of the senate empowered to negotiate with a foreign power, but such negotiations, before they became valid, required to be sanctioned or ratified by the senate and people

The political rights of the people have already been stated, in the account of their gradual growth and development The people conferred the executive power upon the magistrates, and punished or rewarded them, according to the manner in which they had used the power delegated to them Declarations of peace and war, and treaties, were not valid until they were sanctioned by the people A Roman citizen could not be condemned to death except by the people but before the tribes had voted on his case, he

within the city, or in its territory, at the distance of one mile all around Unlimited military power was possessed only by a dictator, who was appointed in times of great danger, but those abuses, which in former times dictators had made of their power, are no longer mentioned in the period we are here speaking of. The most important office, and the one in which the vital principle of the republic was most energetically manifested, was that of the tribunes of the people, for they had the right to interfere in everything, either stopping proceedings that were going on, or affording their protection to the injured and oppressed But they had no judicial power The administration of justice, which had passed from the hands of the consuls into those of the praetors, had been greatly facilitated, as we have seen, by the *jus Flavianum* The judges, appointed by the praetor to decide upon a given case, were taken from among the senators

The administration of the finances was, as we remarked above, in the hands of the senate The public revenue consisted in the tribute of the Roman citizens and the Italian allies, in the rent paid for the use of the domain land which was let to farm like the tolls, in the port and import duties, in the produce of the mines salt works, and of the booty, all or part of which was sold for the benefit of the state The accounts of the public treasury were kept by the quaestors (*quaestores*), whose number was increased in B C 275 to eight, on account of the increased business arising out of the conquests which Rome had made at the time The quaestors like other public functionaries, were assisted by clerks (*notarii* or *scribae*), who were mostly freedmen and who formed a distinct class of persons owing to their position, they had no claims to any of the higher offices, though Cn Flavius, one of them succeeded in obtaining the aedileship

The police of Rome was at first in the hands of the plebeian aediles and afterwards, with more extensive powers in those of the curule aediles who had at the same time the superintendence of the temples and other public buildings, but in times of scarcity a praefect of the corn market (*praefectus annonae*) was appointed,

who had to take care that a sufficient supply of food was imported, and that it was sold at a fixed price, so as to prevent the cost from being beyond the means of the poor No magistrate had such extensive power over the public and private life of Roman citizens as the censors Their main business from the first had been to draw up the lists of the senators, equites, and the remaining body of citizens, and to ascertain and register the amount of their property But as a man's property is in a great measure dependent upon his conduct, the censors soon also became the superintendents of the moral conduct of the citizens, and their influence acquired an extraordinary extent, for it was in their power to determine a person's status in society They could punish by their censorial mark of censure (*nota censoria*) any violation of a citizen's duty towards the state, his fellow citizens, or his own position, dishonourable occupations, the squandering of property, the violation of things devoted to religious purposes, the neglect of agriculture, and a great many other offences But however great the influence of the censors might be, they could neither deprive a citizen of his franchise, nor confer it upon a person not possessing it all they were empowered to do, was to degrade a citizen, that is, to remove him from his tribe into a less honourable one (*tribu movere*), to make him an aerarian, or enter his name in the tables of the Caerites Such a punishment however was not permanent, for the censors of the next lustrum might always restore a citizen to his former position, if they thought his conduct entitled him to it

With regard to the constitution of the army, its regulation according to the centuries instituted by king Servius Tullius, continued for a considerable time after the establishment of the commonwealth, but the perpetual wars which followed one another in rapid succession and which made the Romans acquainted with other nations led them to introduce various changes into their own system In the earlier times the wars had frequently lasted only a few days or weeks, during which the loss of human life cannot have been very great, the hostile armies being generally

satisfied with ravaging the fields of their enemies, and with carrying away as much booty as they could But after the siege of Veii, the campaigns had become longer and more serious, and no sooner had the Romans gone forth triumphantly, and with fresh vigour, from the wars with the Gauls, than they had to fight against the Samnites, Latins, Etruscans, Pyrrhus, and the inhabitants of southern Italy, with whom they did not struggle for the possession of a few fields, but for the sovereignty of Italy Whether the soldiers received any pay as early as the time of the kings, is very doubtful all the writers agree in stating that pay for the soldiers was not introduced till the war against Veii, which we must also take to be the beginning of the art of besieging a town The ordinary means of taking a place, if it could not be otherwise compelled to surrender, was to undermine its walls, for the *aries* or battering-ram, by which the walls were shattered to pieces, was an invention of later times, and as yet unknown to the Romans

At the time of the Gallic war, the ancient armour of brass was exchanged by Camillus for iron armour, a polished iron helmet being a better preservative against the mighty swords of the barbarians The increased value of brass may likewise have contributed to the introduction of iron for military purposes. Camillus is also said to have surrounded the shields of the soldiers with iron rims The original shields of the Romans (*clypei*) were, like those of the ancient Greeks, of brass, but after the Veientine war, a different kind of shield (*scutum*) was introduced, which consisted of a wooden frame covered with the hide of an ox At the same time, the ancient weapon of the front lines was exchanged for a peculiar kind of spear (*pilum*), seven feet long, by which a blow might be warded off, and which might also be used as a weapon to attack the enemy The Roman sword was short resembling a large knife, but many a battle was decided by it

A legion, according to Livy's account, consisted, at the time of the Latin war, of five divisions or battalions, which are called

hastati principes triarii rorarii and *accensi* The *rorarii* were slingers or a sort of light armed infantry like the later *velites* and the *accensi* were a reserve which followed the legion The regular number of men contained in a legion was 4 500 in addition to which there always were 300 horsemen belonging to it Four legions were generally levied every year and the allies had, to send a contingent of double the amount In many cases however the Romans were compelled by circumstances to exceed the ordinary number as in the war against the Volscians in B C 403 when Rome alone is said to have sent ten legions into the field. The military laws respecting the subordination of the soldiers and officers to their commander were extremely severe as is attested by numerous examples but when the soldiers rested in their camp it was not uncommon for their commander to amuse himself with his men by gymnastic exercises and games of various kinds The greatest reward of a general, after a successful campaign was to be allowed to enter the city in a triumphal procession the other rewards were usually in themselves simple and trifling and were given to common soldiers no less than to their commanders but they were always significant and incited those who were honoured with them to great deeds in the service of the republic

A perfect system of tactics was unknown to the Romans till the time of Pyrrhus who was not only an able general himself but a writer on tactics and who made them acquainted with the Macedonian system and the use of elephants in war It is commonly believed that the Romans had no navy till the time of the first Punic war but this opinion is contradicted partly by their treaties with Carthage, and partly by the appointment of admirals (*duumviri navales*) who were elected every year from B C 443 The ships were probably furnished by the maritime towns subject to Rome A regular fleet however of vessels with five benches of rowers, was not kept up by the Romans until their war with Carthage

The religion of the Romans which was so wonderfully inter

woven with all the affairs of their private and public life, both in war and in peace, had been considerably modified by the introduction of Greek divinities and modes of worship, which were engrafted upon the ancient Italian religion It was in vain that the aediles opposed the adoption of foreign rites, for in times of great distress, the people, under the guidance of the Sibylline books, *would make recourse to them, hoping* to obtain, through the mediation of foreign gods, that which their own divinities seemed unwilling to grant It was under such circumstances that the image of Aesculapius was fetched from Epidaurus The worship of this god brought to Rome a number of Greek physicians, who undertook to cure the sick by *incubatio*, that is, by spending the nights in the god's temple, and by other religious ceremonies The ancient worship of the gods of the country, being thus more and more pushed into the back ground, fell into oblivion, so that in many instances it became a matter of mere antiquarian curiosity, and was as obscure and unintelligible to the Romans themselves as it is to us The auspices still continued to maintain their ancient dignity and authority, for public undertakings were never entered upon without consulting the auspices Isolated instances of disregard for them, however, occur long before the Punic wars, and it is evident that as early as that time many persons regarded them as mere forms or used them hypocritically, as a means for unjust and selfish purposes The letter of the religious laws began at *Rome* at a very early time, to prevail over their spirit, until, in the days of Cicero, men had lost all religious feeling, and treated religious matters either with perfect indifference or ridicule

Intellectual culture is a delicate plant, which cannot well grow and develope its quiet beauties amid the troubles of destructive wars, hence its progress was slow among the people of Rome Commerce, at this time, must have been carried on to a very great extent with the Etruscans, and southern Italians, with whom mercantile intercourse was kept *up even in* war, during those months in which there was a cessation of hostilities, Roman

merchant-ships also visited Sicily, and even Carthage, where they were allowed to trade by treaties But from Sardinia, and from Libya, they were excluded by the jealousy of Carthage The main source of wealth among the Romans, and their most honourable occupation, was agriculture the greatest generals and statesmen, after they had held the helm of the republic and gained victories and triumphs, did not scruple to return to the plough, and live in rural retirement, disdaining the pomp and splendour which in other times and countries would have been inseparable from their high position Rustic pursuits produced and nourished the highest virtues that characterise the best of the Romans, and the greatest praise that a censor could bestow upon a man was, that he was a good husbandman and father Their mode of living still continued to be extremely simple their ordinary food consisted of a kind of porridge made of flour, and fruit of the fields Bread was made at home by the women In the time of the Samnite wars, wine was thought so precious, that even the libations to the gods consisted of mere drops of wine; and one Mecenius was not censured for having killed his wife, because she had drunk wine without his knowing it The majority of people dwelt in huts, or small cottages, and slept on beds of straw, and the streets were not yet paved but cleanliness was conjoined by religion in all the states of antiquity Public buildings, however, began to be distinguished by their grandeur and splendour, and after the second Samnite war, private houses were better built than they had been before, so that, on the whole, the city must have assumed at that time a stately appearance Down to the time of Pyrrhus, houses were covered with wooden shingles, for which, after that time, rantiles (*imbrices*) were substituted.

But, notwithstanding this general simplicity in their mode of living, symptoms of extravagance and the love of luxuries, began to show themselves here and there at an early period. Thus, P Cornelius Rufinus, in B C 275, was ejected by the censors from the senate, because he possessed silver vessels to the amount

of ten pounds, and a law against bribery had been found neces sary as early as B C 358 How easily the rustic simplicity of the Romans degenerated into baseness and brutality, is evident from the conduct of the Campanian legion at Rhegium, and from the fact that in B C 332 a number of Roman ladies of rank were convicted of having poisoned their husbands The conquest of the wealthy city of Tarentum and the splendid booty which was there taken increased the taste for luxuries of every kind and for the ornaments of life It is a remarkable fact in Roman history, that an acquaintance with the luxuries and refinement of the Greeks seldom benefited the Romans as it might have done, and numerous cases are on record which show that the Romans, like barbarians could not exercise any control over their enjoy ment of novel luxuries and only debased themselves by them through intemperance and a want of moderation The first silver coins were issued at Rome in B C 269 probably on account of the extended intercourse with foreign nations Down to the year B C 300 the Romans had allowed their beards to grow freely, but in that year Greek barbers are said to have come from Sicily, and to have introduced the custom of shaving In later times, wealthy Romans used to keep slaves for the purpose of shaving their masters while the majority of people went to the public shops of the barbers which were great places of resort in the morning when numbers of idle loungers assembled there and talked over the news of the day

Literary and scientific pursuits were still foreign to the Romans for the objects of their education were on the whole no other than to train the young men in a manner that would make them good citizens and render them fit to serve their country in war and peace The young nobles received the instruction which was thought necessary for these purposes from Etruscan teachers The arts as we have already remarked were cultivated to a con siderable degree but more by Etruscans and Greeks residing at Rome than by the Romans themselves for artists were not held

in any high esteem, and the arts never flourish where they are not honoured. Painting alone seems to have formed an exception, as Fabius Pictor, a distinguished painter, received his surname from his art. The numerous gold and silver vessels, which were dedicated in the temples, show the increasing wealth of the republic. After the subjugation of Latium, we hear of several equestrian statues which were erected at Rome, and the amount of works of art, which were carried to the sovereign city from the conquered towns of Etruria and southern Italy, may be inferred from the statement, that after the taking of Volsinii, 2000 statues were carried to Rome. The first sun-dial was set up at Rome, in B.C. 293, by L. Papirius Cursor. The ignorance or want of skill of the Romans in music is manifest from the following anecdote. The Etruscan flute players had enjoyed the privilege of taking their meals in the temple of Jupiter, and when the senate took this privilege from them they emigrated to Tibur. As there was now nobody at Rome that could play the flute at sacrifices, the senate summoned them to return, but they refused. The Tiburtines thereupon were induced to make the Etruscan flute-players drunk, and having succeeded in this, they carried them in their sleep to Rome where their ancient privilege was restored to them. It has already been observed that in B.C. 364, Etruscan dancers and actors (*ludiones histriones*) were invited from Etruria to avert a plague from which Rome was then suffering. Such hired actors never enjoyed any estimation at Rome and were excluded from the civic franchise; but free born youths had their own amusements in reciting comic and frivolous songs accompanied by dramatic gesticulation. The time for the development of literature was only just beginning to dawn, and the Romans of that time were more ambitious to accomplish great military feats and to display bold and manly courage, than to spend their time in the refined amusements of the Greeks who in their sight were a degenerate race.

Rome had long been connected with Carthage by treaties, and

her relations with foreign powers were increased in B C 273, when Ptolemy Philadelphus, king of Egypt, sent an embassy to Rome, and concluded friendship and alliance with the conquerors of Italy In the year following, the city of Apollonia, on the Ionian gulf, likewise sent an embassy to Rome, but its object is not known Rome therefore was no longer a stranger to the eastern part of the world

CHAPTER XV.

THE FIRST PUNIC WAR.—SICILY THE FIRST ROMAN PROVINCE.—INTERNAL HISTORY DURING THE PERIOD OF THE FIRST PUNIC WAR.

After the conquest of Italy, it was impossible for the Romans to remain peaceful neighbours of the Carthaginians, who were in the possession of all the fair island of Sicily, with the exception of the small kingdom of Hiero, and the north-eastern district, which was ruled over by the Mamertines of Messana. The mutual jealousy between the two republics had become too manifest during the war of the Romans against Tarentum. An opportunity for giving vent to this feeling occurred soon after the taking of Rhegium. The Campanians, who had been masters of that town, had been allied with the Mamertines, who were likewise Italians, and who, after serving as mercenaries in Sicily, had taken possession of Messana in the same base and cruel manner as that by which the Campanians had made themselves masters of Rhegium. The fall of the latter town deprived the Mamertines of their only friends and supporters. In conjunction with them the Mamertines had spared neither the possessions of the Carthaginians in Sicily, nor the Greek towns, and had conquered the north-eastern corner of the island. King Hiero of Syracuse now longed to punish them for the outrages they had committed for many years: with an army, which he had formed of his own subjects, he took from them some towns they had subjugated; and in the neighbourhood of Messana he gained a decisive victory over them, in which their commander was taken prisoner. The Mamertines were so much weakened by this defeat, that they were on the point of imploring the mercy of

their conqueror, when they were saved by the interference of a Carthaginian commander, who was cruising off the coast of Messana, for the Carthaginians foresaw that a connection between the Mamertines and Hiero might draw the Romans into the island, and thus involve them in a struggle with Rome for the possession of Sicily, the complete conquest of which, they fancied, might now be easily accomplished But the Mamertines were divided among themselves, for the proffered protection of Carthage created fear and suspicion in the minds of many of them, who would have preferred an alliance with some Italian power As Hiero was ready to make another attack upon them, no time was to be lost, and while one part of the Mamertines accepted the protection of Carthage, the other applied for assistance to Rome It was now scarcely six years since Rome had inflicted the most severe punishment on her own subjects, who had been guilty of the same crime as the Mamertines, and she ought to have rejected the offered alliance with the latter with scorn and indignation, but ambition, and the love of dominion, prevailed over every other feeling The majority of the senators, indeed, obeyed the laws of conscience and honour, and rejected the proposal, but the consuls, eager for war, brought the matter before the assembly of the people, who, in their jealousy of Carthage, and in the hope of a speedy termination of the war, and of rich booty, allowed themselves to be prevailed upon to agree to the alliance with the Mamertines, and to promise them their assistance[1] This decree, which was passed in B C 264, is a greater disgrace to Rome than even the murder of C Pontius it shows that the constitution was already inclining too much to the democratical side, though the republic itself did not suffer any material injury from this state of things for a long time to come

As in the meantime Hiero had been pressing hard upon the Mamertines, the Carthaginian party had admitted a Carthaginian *garrison into the acropolis, and* Hiero had thus been obliged to

[1] Polyb i. 12

give up all further undertakings against the place He was at length prevailed upon by the Carthaginians to make peace with Messana, and as the Romans had promised their assistance against Hiero they had now lost every pretext that could justify their interference on behalf of the Mamertines For some time the Romans seem to have been hesitating as to what course they should pursue at length they resolved on war against the Carthaginians and a levy of the consul Appius Claudius appeared at Rhegium with an army and a number of triremes which had been furnished by the Greek towns of Italy, for the Roman fleet had been completely neglected. The levies, however was prevented from crossing over into Sicily by a Carthaginian fleet which was stationed in the straits he therefore sailed in a boat to Messana, to proclaim to the Mamertines that the Romans would deliver them from the yoke of the Carthaginians Soon after his return, he succeeded, during a favourable wind in reaching the *coast of Sicily with his fleet without any difficulty* Hanno the commander of the Carthaginian garrison at Messana, was treacherously compelled to surrender the citadel to the Romans Another Carthaginian general had in the meantime brought an army to Sicily and was approaching Messana with a fleet He called upon the Romans in the name of Carthage to evacuate Messana and Sicily before a certain day and as the Romans refused, the Carthaginians in conjunction with Hiero began to blockade Messana in separate camps In the night the consul, Appius Claudius himself landed with fresh legions in Sicily and drew up his army near that of Hiero who being beaten before the Carthaginians could send him any assistance then retreated to Syracuse The consul next made an attack upon the camp of the Carthaginians who had considerably weakened their forces by putting to death all the Italian mercenaries serving in their army, who being emigrants from the countries which had recently been subdued by Rome might have been of great service to the Carthaginians But the latter feared treachery the consequence was that they were defeated by the Romans, where-

upon they withdrew among their subject-towns of the island, to spend the winter there, while the Romans followed up their victory over Hiero, and encamped under the walls of Syracuse. But nothing decisive was accomplished, for they soon retreated to Messana, and the Syracusans, who had already suffered so much from the Carthaginians, were not inclined to continue the war against the Romans In B C 263, the consuls, M' Otacilius and M'. Valerius, landed with their armies in Sicily, without any obstacle, and Centoripa, Agyrium, and Halaesa surrendered to them sixty-seven towns are said to have submitted to Rome[2] When the consuls approached Syracuse, Hiero complied with the wishes of his people, and offered peace, which the consuls gladly accepted, for their armies were already suffering from want of provisions The king restored all the Roman prisoners to freedom, paid down a contribution of 200 talents, and became the ally of Rome[3] He faithfully kept his engagements with Rome, and without taking any active part in the war against Carthage, he supported the Romans with money, arms, and provisions The peace with Hiero may be regarded as the real beginning of the first Punic war, though most writers date it from the passage of Claudius's legate into Sicily, in B C 264

At the beginning of the war, Carthage might reasonably hope for a fortunate issue of the contest, for she possessed a considerable navy, large and fertile dominions, a treasury well stocked by the tribute of her subjects, whereby she was enabled to engage the service of large numbers of mercenaries, and a long experience in maritime undertakings Rome, on the other hand, had few resources, no navy, and no numerous armies, since, as yet, no great reliance could be placed on her allies, but the armies she had at her command consisted of citizens ready to fight for their country to the last she had courage, perseverance, and firmness Her constitution was, at that time, in its full bloom, while that of Carthage was already in its decline Carthage was unable to

[2] Diodor *Eclog* xxiii 5

[3] Oros. iv 7, Polyb i 16, speaks of only 100 talents.

Agrigentum was afterwards rebuilt by the Romans, and exists to this day, under the name of Girgenti, attesting its former greatness by its magnificent ruins

After the loss of Agrigentum, Hanno, who had been sent out to its relief, was called back and heavily fined. While the Romans were making progress in the interior of the island, the Carthaginians, who, during the first period of the war had no able generals, had to struggle with their own mercenaries, who were clamorous for pay A numerous band of Gauls were got rid of by a treacherous and cruel stratagem, in order to prevent their going over to the enemy In the meantime the Carthaginian fleet, which ruled over the sea, ravaged the coasts of Italy, which could not be protected in any part, and many of the towns on the coast of Sicily were induced by fear again to place themselves under the dominion of Carthage This turn of the war convinced the Romans that no decisive advantages could be gained without a fleet, and that victories in Africa alone could bring the war to a close The senate, therefore, determined to build a fleet, and attack the enemy on his own element The woody chain of the Apennines furnished the timber, and a Carthaginian quinquereme, which had been thrown on the coast of Bruttium and had fallen into the hands of the Romans served as the model after which they built their first ships of war One hundred and thirty ships[1] were now built, within sixty days after the trees had been felled Each quinquereme had 300 rowers and 200 marines As the Romans had no practised rowers or sailors, the men were trained for their work on scaffoldings on land, and afterwards, for a short time, in the ships themselves, while they lay at anchor All this was done in the greatest hurry, as the condition of Sicily did not allow of any delay The vessels thus hastily constructed were, of course, not very durable, they were awkward and unwieldy in comparison with those of Carthage But the Romans deserve our admiration on this occasion, not

[1] According to Polybius (i. 20) this fleet consisted of 120 ships, 100 quinqueremes and 20 triremes

bridges were taken and the others, as soon as they came near enough experienced the same fate The Carthaginians at last became hopeless, and took to flight Fourteen Carthaginian ships were destroyed 3000 men killed and 7000 made prisoners while the Romans do not seem to have lost a single ship The immediate result of this victory was that the siege of Segesta was raised. C Duilius was rewarded for his naval victory, the first that Rome had ever gained not only with a triumph but with distinctions which lasted during his whole lifetime, for he was allowed to be accompanied home in the evening from banquets with torch light and music and a column (*columna rostrata*) adorned with the beaks of the captured ships was erected with an inscription recording the details of his victory [6]

In the following campaign B C 259 the Romans no longer thought it necessary to direct their whole force against Sicily but while the consul C Aquillius undertook the war in that island with only one consular army his colleague L Cornelius Scipio sailed out with the fleet to make an attack upon Sardinia and Corsica The whole of the former island was subject to Carthage and of the latter at least the coast Aleria in Corsica was taken by the Romans and a Carthaginian fleet under the command of Hannibal was destroyed whereupon Hannibal was put to death by his own men with whom he had escaped to the shore but he was honourably buried by the Romans Scipio now landed in many parts of the island and carried away a large number of prisoners In the neighbourhood of Olbia, however a numerous Carthaginian army made its appearance and induced the consul to retreat

Carthage suffered much from this piratical expedition of the Romans but the turn which the war had taken in Sicily through the diminution in the Roman forces was even more injurious to

[6] Some fragments of this inscription are still extant but whether the marble slabs which contain them and have come down to our time are the original ones or whether they belong to an accurate restoration made at a later time when the original monument was destroyed is a matter of dispute among the learned.

the Romans, for the Carthaginian Hamilcar took several towns, and killed about 4000 Romans and his operations for fortifying what he possessed, as well as for recovering what was lost, were so much to the purpose, that the consul Aquillius was compelled to confine himself to acting on the defensive At the same time Rome was threatened by a conspiracy within her own walls for 4000 Samnites who had been enlisted for the service of the fleet, were quartered at Rome There they found many of their own countrymen in slavery, and their sympathies established a bond of union between them the slaves of other nations also with all in fact who were thirsting for vengeance were readily admitted into the conspiracy Three thousand slaves are said to have thus joined them Their intention was to set fire to the city, and rouse the whole slave population to rebellion But the plot was communicated to the senate by the commander of the Samnites, and the conspiracy was suppressed The Roman ascendancy in Sicily was also restored, in B C 258, by the consul A Atilius Calatinus Myttistratum had been besieged by the Romans for seven months, and the Carthaginian garrison had borne it but the inhabitants were dying of hunger, and suffering the most intense misery The Carthaginians quitted the place, leaving the unfortunate inhabitants to settle their affairs with the Romans as well as they could But the latter had no mercy the town was taken by storm nearly all its inhabitants were massacred and the few survivors had to spend the remainder of their days in slavery From Myttistratum the Romans marched to Camarina but on their way thither through the mountains they fell into a danger similar to that into which the Romans ran in their first war against the Samnites, and were saved by a similar act of heroism A tribune of the soldiers, M Calpurnius Flamma with a bravery equal to that of Leonidas at Thermopylae opposed the whole hostile army in a narrow

mountain pass, with a gallant band of 300 comrades, while the Romans gained a free passage The tribune himself was afterwards found bleeding among the corpses of his companions, but his life was restored to him Camarina and Gela were then taken and destroyed, and their inhabitants put to the sword, or sold as slaves Enna also surrendered and the consul appeared before the Carthaginian camp, near Panormus, but the enemy did not venture to quit it

In the eighth year of the war, B C 257, nearly one half of Sicily was still in the hands of the Carthaginians and the Romans had only recovered what they had lost A naval victory, which C Atilius gained off Tyndaris gave them fresh hope of bringing to a close the war, in which they were only wasting their strength Their exertions were immense and in B C 256 a fleet of 330 Roman quinqueremes each manned with 300 marines sailed out under the consuls L Manlius and M Atilius Regulus with the intention of crossing over to Africa The Carthaginians met them with 350 quinqueremes which carried 150 000 men it was the greatest naval action that the ancient world had yet seen The two fleets met each other off Ecnomus The Carthaginians were commanded by Hamilcar who had hitherto been the ablest of their generals and by Hanno The battle which ensued was decisive and destructive more than thirty ships of the Carthaginians were sunk and sixty four were taken with their crews while the Romans lost only twenty four[a] As the consuls were repairing their damaged vessels, in order to sail for Africa Hanno appeared before them suing for peace, but his suit was fruitless The Roman soldiers left the Sicilian coast with sad forebodings but Regulus, a presumptuous and fool hardy man suppressed their murmurs by threats of the severest punishment Hamilcar and Hanno divided the remaining part of their fleet, to cruise, and avail themselves of any opportunities that might occur, but Hanno afterwards altered his plan, and made for Carthage The Romans landed in Africa

[a] Polyb i 26 &c

their position in the mountains, were useless, and their infantry was beaten and dispersed A fearful number of their men are said to have fallen in the battle, and the Carthaginians retreated within the walls of their city Tunis was taken by Regulus, and seventy-four other places submitted to him The Numidians also threw off the dominion of Carthage, and completed the devastation of the country In this campaign Regulus is said to have encountered a gigantic serpent on the river Bagradas, which measured 120 feet in length, and attacked and devoured the soldiers The monster, it is said, could not be overcome until the whole Roman army attacked it [10] Carthage was crowded to excess by the numbers of country people who had taken refuge in the city, and that mass of people began to suffer from famine and diseases Under these distressing circumstances, the Carthaginians sent an embassy to the Roman camp, to negotiate for peace Regulus now might have concluded the war, and Rome might have been indemnified for the great losses she had already sustained, but Regulus fancied he held the fate of Carthage in his hands, and he wished to decide it, for fear of its being left to his successor to do so He therefore demanded of Carthage to give up Sicily and Sardinia, to restore all the Roman prisoners without ransom, to give a ransom for those who were in the hands of the Romans, to pay an annual tribute to recognise the supremacy of Rome, to renounce the right of carrying on any war without the sanction of Rome, to surrender all ships of war with the exception of one and to support Rome in her military undertakings if she thought fit to ask for such support To these insolent and exorbitant demands the Carthaginian envoys made no answer, for Carthage was yet too strong to submit to such humiliating terms, but it would probably have fallen nevertheless had it not been saved by the valour and skill of one man, and that man a foreigner, Xanthippus of Sparta

Xanthippus was engaged in the service of the Carthaginian

[10] This tale though it was related by Livy, is a mere fable and was probably derived from the poetical description which Naevius had given of the first Punic war

of the remnant of the hostile army The Roman fleet was met by that of Carthage near Cape Hermaeum, and the former won a brilliant victory 104 Carthaginian ships are said to have been destroyed and 30 to have been taken with their crews, about 30 000 men perished, while the loss of the Romans is stated to have been trifling [12] After this victory the consuls sailed to Clupea Here the Carthaginians are said to have been beaten again, whereby the Romans were enabled to take on board the garrison which was already suffering from famine The Romans then quitted Africa and sailed along the southern coast of Sicily towards Syracuse It was about the beginning of July, and the Roman fleet which had disregarded the caution of experienced pilots, was overtaken by a storm one part of the ships were thrown upon the harbourless coast, while the others were swallowed up by the waters The number of vessels thus lost varies in our authorities between 340 and 220 [13] The whole coast from Camarina to Pachynus, was covered with wrecks and corpses Hiero on this occasion acted the part of a true friend to the Romans for he provided with food and clothing those who had escaped the remnants of the fleet assembled at Messana

This great disaster of the Romans raised the courage of the Carthaginians They had in the meantime subdued their faithless subjects in Africa and having learned from Xanthippus a system of tactics which the Romans were unable to withstand they sent strong reinforcements to Sicily one half of which was still in their possession and made new conquests The Romans in Sicily confined themselves to acting on the defensive in the mountains As soon as the news of the fearful destruction of the fleet reached Rome, the senate far from desponding forthwith decreed the building of a new fleet Two hundred and twenty ships were completed within the short space of three months, and, in B C 254 were conducted to Sicily by the consuls Cn Cornelius Scipio and A Atilius Calatinus, with a large number

[12] Polyb i 36 Diodor *Excerpt* xx 14 Oros iv 9 Eutrop ii 22
[13] Diodor *l c* Oros iv 9

of troops Panormus was now blockaded while the Carthaginian general did not dare to leave his quarters near Lilybaeum and the place was soon taken After this important conquest many of the towns such as Tyndaris and Soloeis which had hitherto been faithful to Carthage surrendered to the Romans but the ships which carried the booty to Rome fell into the hands of the Carthaginians As however the conquest of Sicily proceeded but slowly the consuls of B C 252 Cn Servilius Caepio and C Sempronius Blaesus were tempted once more to sail with their whole fleet of 260 ships to Africa The Carthaginians offered no resistance and the Romans laid waste the coast of the Lesser Syrtis but they soon discovered the dangers of those gulfs and it was not without the utmost exertions and a sacrifice of part of their booty that they escaped from the Syrtes They steered towards Panormus and thence endeavoured to cut across to the coast of Italy But when they arrived in sight of Cape Palinurus they were surprised by a fearful storm in which 150 ships were wrecked and the booty they had brought from Africa was swallowed up by the waves This second disaster of the Romans at sea broke down their courage on that element the senate resolved that the fleet should not be restored again and that only sixty ships should be kept for the protection of the Italian coasts and of the transports which had to be sent to Sicily

But though the Romans had renounced the sea they were still able in the same year to conquer Lipara and Thermae on the north coast of Sicily and the Carthaginians were confined to the western corner of the island In the year following the Romans were arrayed against the Carthaginians in the territories of Selinus and Lilybaeum but not being able to overcome their fear of the elephants and remembering the fate of Regulus they did not venture upon a decisive battle This backwardness of their enemies induced the Carthaginian general who had come over with a large army and 130 elephants to offer battle The pro consul, L Caecilius Metellus who was encamped in B C 250 in the neighbourhood of Panormus on the approach of the

enemy retreated close up to the walls of that town, where he had his fortified camp He managed the battle with great skill, and the Carthaginians were completely defeated many fell on the field of battle, and others, who endeavoured by swimming to reach the Carthaginian fleet, which was following the movements of the army, perished in the waves The triumph of Metellus was adorned with a great number of Carthaginian officers of rank, and 104 elephants, which were afterwards killed in the Circus

This was the third great battle that had been fought during the war, and though the struggle yet lasted for many a year, still it was and remained the last, for, during the remaining period, we scarcely hear of anything else than sieges, which were conducted in a slow and tedious manner Sicily, however, which, during the whole of this war was obliged to keep the armies and fleets of both belligerent parties, and was ravaged by both, was prepared for becoming that wilderness, which was completed in the Hannibalian war, from which it has not recovered to this day After their defeat at Panormus, the Carthaginians evacuated Selinus, whose inhabitants they carried to their great fortress of Lilybaeum, which, together with Drepana, was now the only place of importance they continued to possess in Sicily Their late defeat, and the progress of the Romans in the island, induced the Carthaginians to send an embassy to Rome with proposals of peace, or at least of an exchange of prisoners Regulus, who had now been their prisoner for nearly five years, went with the ambassadors, under a promise that he would return into captivity if he could not prevail upon his countrymen to accede to the wishes of Carthage He was permitted to be present at the discussion in the senate, and he there objected to the peace no less vehemently than to the exchange of the prisoners he preferred his honour and his oath to all the enticements of his friends to remain behind, and in order to remove all temptations, he pretended that a slow poison had been administered to him, which would soon end his days He then withdrew from the

embraces of his friends and returned to Carthage, where he is said to have been put to death with the most cruel tortures This story of the embassy of Regulus, which has become more celebrated than any other, through poets and orators, is quite devoid of historical foundation Polybius, the most ancient and trustworthy among the writers on those times knows nothing of it, and it is in all probability a mere fiction, devised partly to honour the unfortunate man, partly to raise a hatred against the Carthaginians or to justify the cruel treatment which some Carthaginian prisoners, who were given over to the family of Regulus experienced at the hands of his friends [14] The captivity of Regulus cannot be doubted, but he had deserved his fate by his overbearing conduct, and his hard heartedness, with which he had treated the humbled enemy in the days of his glory His return to Carthage, even supposing it to be an historical fact, was no more than his duty, and if he had reason to fear it was only his own fault

Rome rejected the proposed peace because she had resolved not to lay down her arms until all Sicily should be subdued. Hence the consuls of B C 250 C Atilius and L Manlius Vulso went to Sicily with four legions and a large number of allied troops Their success at Panormus had so much raised the courage of the Romans, that the senate ordered a new fleet of 200 ships to be built without delay The consuls with their army, laid siege to Lilybaeum, which was fortified by every means of which the art of fortification was then capable It was surrounded by the Romans from sea to sea with a strong line of fortifications and the Roman fleet which cruised before its harbour, guarded the entrance to it they afterwards endeavoured even to block it up by sinking a number of ships in order to cut off all communication between the fortress and Carthage The faithless mercenaries to whom the defence was entrusted, would have sold

[14] Zonar viii 15 Diodor *Fragm.* lib xxiv p 566, ed. Wesseling comp Niebuhr *Hist of Rome* vol ii. p. 533 &c, *Lectures on Rom Hist* vol i, p 198

the fortress to the enemy, had not an honest Achaean of the name of Alexo informed the Carthaginian commander of the plot, who could only insure the fidelity of the traitors by the promise of greater advantages than they expected from the Romans The latter in the meantime conducted the siege with considerable success, but a bold Carthaginian admiral, of the name of Hannibal, kept up the communication between Carthage and Lilybaeum by making his way through the Roman fleet, and, to the great consternation of the Romans, he succeeded in introducing reinforcements into the place, amid the joyous shouts of the distressed inhabitants This success emboldened the besieged to make a sally, but it failed, notwithstanding their great exertions However, what men could not accomplish, was soon after achieved by a storm, which blew in the direction of the Roman camp As the camp was full of combustible materials, the besieged, during the storm, threw fire into it, which caused a conflagration, consuming all the engines, towers, and galleries of the Romans After this loss the Romans confined themselves to blockading the town, in order to compel it by hunger to surrender, for the besieged were suffering from scarcity, in consequence of which epidemic diseases broke out among them Their fleet was still stationed near the entrance of the harbour, while that of Carthage was in the harbour of Drepana

The Romans still made very great efforts, and in B C 249, the consul, P Claudius Pulcher, led a supplementary army to Sicily His presumption and fool-hardiness cost the republic the lives of thousands, about whom he, a true Claudian was little concerned On his arrival near the harbour of Drepana, he endeavoured early in the morning, and contrary to the auspices which he despised to enter the harbour and take the enemy by surprise, but the Carthaginian admiral, Adherbal, had been very watchful, and as the enemy s fleet was entering, he led his ships into the sea in a long line on the opposite side of the entrance Claudius soon discovered that he was thwarted, and ordered his ships to retreat, but it was too late, and the Carthaginians, making use of the

confusion and hurry, cut off the retreat of the Romans Ninety-three ships of the latter were destroyed or taken, and only 30 escaped with the consul [15] This victory of the Carthaginians was a very easy one, and their loss was quite insignificant They now recovered their ascendancy in Sicily, while at Rome the most vehement indignation burst forth against the presumptuous consul The senate ordered him to appoint a dictator, and then to lay down his dignity and give an account of his conduct Claudius who scorned the command of the senate, had the insolence to appoint M Glycias, the son of a freedman, to the dictatorship The Romans could not endure this insult they deprived the unworthy man of his honour, and in his place A. Atilius Calatinus was made dictator Claudius himself was charged with high treason against the people, but whether he was punished, or escaped on account of a thunder storm, which, according to some, broke out during the assembly, and thus stopped the proceedings, is uncertain He does not, however, appear to have long survived his disgrace, and it is probable that he made away with himself

During this period of the war, the Roman generals were below mediocrity while those of the Carthaginians, even before the appearance of the great Hamilcar on the scene of action, far surpassed their opponents who now had only the advantage of better soldiers than the mercenaries of the enemy The Carthaginians followed up their victory at Drepana with great energy Hannibal took the Roman provision ships from the harbour of Panormus, and sent them to Lilybaeum, while Carthalo destroyed the greater part of the remaining Roman fleet, and then made predatory excursions on the coasts of Italy and Sicily In the same year another great disaster happened to the Romans The consul C Junius, the colleague of Claudius, had arrived with sixty ships near Messana and there joined the remainder of the Roman fleet As the army at Lilybaeum was greatly suffering from want, he assembled, partly at Messana, and partly at Syracuse, a large convoy of 800

[15] Polyb i. 51 Eutrop ii. 26 comp Diodor *Excerpt.* xxiv 1

transports to provide for the wants of the army A detachment of this convoy was sent out in advance under the protection of a part of the fleet while the consul remained behind at Syracuse Carthalo the Carthaginian admiral pursuing these destroyed a large number of the transports and seventeen ships of war He then withdrew into the river Halycus to wait for the other detachment which was commanded by the consul himself who when the Carthaginians came out of the river to meet him fled towards the coast of Camarina A storm was threatening and the Carthaginians got into a safe place while C Junius neglecting the approaching danger prepared his own destruction He lost all his ships of war with the exception of two and all his transports were dashed to pieces The greater part of the crews however were saved and with these he joined the land army endeavouring to cover his loss with the conquest of Eryx the only one that Rome made in that year He had like Claudius despised the warning of the auspices and was likewise accused before the people but he withdrew from condemnation by going into voluntary exile

The successive misfortunes which the Romans had now suffered induced them a second time to renounce all maritime warfare and to confine themselves to a few ships The Carthaginians being now the sole masters of the sea Carthalo in B C 248 landed in various parts of the coast of Italy and avenged the sufferings of Africa by ravaging the country [16] But as all these advantages could not restore the exhausted resources of Carthage an attempt was made to borrow a large sum of money of king Ptolemy Philadelphus of Egypt who however refused to comply with the request of Carthage for he wished to remain neutral [17]

In these difficult circumstances the great Hamilcar surnamed Barca that is Lightning undertook the supreme command of the Carthaginian forces He must then have been about the age of thirty he began his operations with an unparalleled boldness for he was a true military genius and worthy to be the father of

[16] Zonar v 16 Oros v 10 [17] Appian *Sicul* p 90 ed Schweigh

Hannibal He first tamed the rebellious mercenaries by severe discipline, and then sailed out to plunder the coasts of Bruttium and Locri On his return in B C 247 he landed at Panormus, while the consuls, L Caecilius Metellus and N Fabius Buteo were continuing the siege of Lilybaeum and Drepana with separate armies Hamilcar took his position on mount Hercte (the modern Monte Pellegrino) where he maintained himself as in a fortress for a period of three years, making occasional ravaging excursions upon the coast of Italy as far as Cumae in Campania No great battle was fought during those three years, although the hostile armies were often arrayed against each other, and constantly in great activity, but Hamilcar completely paralysed the Romans, and never lost an opportunity of injuring them His object was to wear Rome out and gradually to form an army so well disciplined, that Rome should not be able to resist it in the field. After the third year he seems to have abandoned his original plan for he left Hercte and took possession of the town of Eryx In this town which was situated on a mountain and from which the communication with the sea was much more difficult than from Hercte, he was blockaded by the Romans The mercenaries who had served under him were filled with so great a degree of admiration of him that no one ventured to undertake anything against him. We cannot enter here into a detailed account of the petty but bloody engagements which took place during this period but we shall relate an anecdote which shows the great and amiable character of Hamilcar In B C 243, the consul, C Fundanius fought a battle against him Hamilcar was defeated through the fault of his officers and many of his men were slain He sent to the conqueror to ask for a truce during which he might bury his dead. Fundanius haughtily replied, that he ought to be concerned about the living rather than about the dead A short time afterwards another battle was fought in which many of the Romans fell. When Hamilcar was asked to allow the dead to be buried, he willingly consented to do so saying that he carried on war only against the

living [15] This answer, which was no doubt the sincere expression of his feelings, must have put the Roman to the blush

The Romans had by this time become convinced that the war could not be brought to a close without some extraordinary exertions, and in B C 242, it was decreed for the third time to build a fleet As, however, the republic did not possess the means required for it, loans were contracted with wealthy citizens for building and equipping a fleet of 200 or, according to others 300 ships The money thus advanced was to be repaid if the war should turn out favourably The command of this fleet was undertaken by the consul C Lutatius Catulus and the practor, Q Valerius Falto The Roman ships were now much better than they had been at first the maritime towns of Italy also were now in a condition to furnish better sailors than they had done before, and it seems that the Romans had no longer any occasion to make use of boarding bridges The Carthaginian fleet, on the other hand, had been neglected from want of means whence the great exertions which Carthage made at last were not sufficient Lutatius Catulus first made an attack upon Drepana, which was nearly taken but he received a severe wound which prevented his continuing his operations A Carthaginian convoy of provisions and reinforcements was sent to Lilybaeum Drepana and Eryx and this fleet arrived at the Aegatian islands The Carthaginians wanted to take Hamilcar and the best of his soldiers on board before venturing upon an open sea fight The Romans, who were cruising along the coast would have lost everything if they had allowed the enemy to carry out his plan, they therefore resolved upon attacking the Carthaginians who accepted the battle But owing to their ships being heavily laden with corn and to the bad condition of their fleet which consisted in part of old ships and had been got up in too great a hurry, the Romans gained an easy but complete victory 63 Carthaginian ships were taken 120 were sunk and the rest dispersed, 14 000 men were killed and 32,000 taken prisoners

[15] Dodor *Fragm Vatic* p 60, ed Dindorf

This victory, which decided the issue of the war, was gained on the 10th of March, B.C. 241. Another victory was gained soon after at Eryx, which fell into the hands of the Romans.

The Carthaginians now, being totally unable to equip a new fleet, sued for peace; and the negotiations were conducted by Hamilcar, who submitted to the humiliating terms only from necessity, as surely not despairing that a day would come in which he might take vengeance on his now victorious enemy. The conditions on which peace was concluded were as follows: The Carthaginians were to evacuate Sicily, and all the islands between Sicily and Italy, to abstain from war with Hiero and his allies, to restore all Roman prisoners without ransom, and to pay 2200 Euboean talents by twenty yearly instalments. The last point was altered by the Roman people, before whom the peace was brought to be sanctioned, to the effect that Carthage should pay 1000 talents more, and that the number of yearly instalments should be reduced to ten.[1]

This peace terminated the first Punic war in the twenty fourth year after its commencement. It had been conducted with the most immense exertions by both parties, and the losses which the two states had sustained were prodigious. Rome had lost 700 ships of war, and Carthage 500, from which we may infer the number of men that were killed or led into slavery; a much larger number still must have perished in the battles, and by hunger and epidemics. Rome might derive new strength from her allies, and she was yet full of that vital principle herself which was ever capable of fresh renovation; hence she felt her losses and misfortunes less than Carthage, who had already fallen from her ancient greatness, and was obliged to entrust her safety to foreign mercenaries. The dominion which Rome had acquired over Sicily and the Mediterranean paved the way for new conquests, and it soon became manifest that the national hatred between the two republics, which had only been nourished and increased by the long and bloody war, and the overweening

[1] Polyb. i. 62, 63; comp. iii. 27; Zonar. viii. 17; Oros. iv. 11.

assumption of Rome could not allow the peace to last much longer than was necessary for both parties to gather strength for a new struggle

As Sicily was a distinct country by itself, the Romans resolved to give it a constitution different from that adopted in the case of the conquered nations in Italy they made Sicily a Roman province (*provincia* [20]), that is, a country out of Italy which had lost its sovereignty, and was under the administration of a Roman governor, who was sent thither every year with the title of prætor, or pro-consul, and had supreme civil as well as military power, (*potestas* and *imperium*) The governor was assisted in his administration by quæstors, and a train of other officials The Roman state was in reality the owner of the land contained in a province, or, at least, the provincials were not the owners of the soil according to the Roman law, and they were allowed to continue in the possession of it only on condition of their paying to Rome a certain amount of taxes namely, the tenth of wine, oil olives, and other products of the soil This tax was let in farm by the censors at Rome, either to Romans or wealthy Sicilians Some portions of a province however, might remain the property of the provincials, who had then to pay a land tax from which all land in Italy was exempt The provincials generally did not serve in the Roman armies, (for they were usually deprived of their arms) whenever they did serve, it was only as auxiliaries, and never as allies of Rome

It must, however, be observed that not all the towns of Sicily were reduced to this condition for the kingdom of Hiero, the towns of Messana Tauromenium and Netum became *civitates foederatae*, and retained their territories as independent states Panormus, Segesta, Centoripa, and others, became *liberae civitates* that is they had not to pay any taxes (*decimae*) to Rome

[20] The etymology of the word *provincia* is very uncertain the ancients derived it from *pro* and *vincere* in the sense of "to push forward," or "to drive before one Niebuhr connects it with *provenius*, according to which it would mean "a country paying a tax to the ruling state another more probable origin of the word seems to be to regard it as a contraction of *providentia*, so that it would be "a country entrusted to the care of some one"

A country which had once become a Roman province gradually fell into decay for a number of wealthy strangers or Roman speculators usually settled in it and purchased the lands at reduced prices Hence the number of landowners in Sicily was fearfully small in the time of Cicero and those few who had accumulated all the land, had it cultivated by hordes of slaves while the free inhabitants were reduced to abject poverty Such a state of things accounts for the direful servile wars which in later times broke out in Sicily

With the exception of the transitory revolt in Samnium, all the Italians had been perfectly quiet during the long period of the first Punic war a fact which was mainly the consequence of the wise moderation with which Rome treated her Italian subjects though their weak state and the fear of the Carthaginians, who surely would not have been very lenient rulers, may likewise have contributed to keep the Italians quiet During this period we hear Little of constitutional changes because there was Little room for any In B C 253 Tib Coruncanius was the first plebeian who obtained the office of pontifex maximus and he at once proved to be a more distinguished person than any that had held the office before [21] After the increase of the number of quaestors which had taken place shortly before the outbreak of the war the election of new members of the senate was no longer left to the discretion of the censors, for as vacancies occurred, they were filled up with those who had been quaestors and as the quaestors were elected by the people the senate may be said at this time to have consisted of wealthy persons nominated by the people, for none but wealthy persons could hope to obtain any of the higher magistracies wealth having now acquired the influence which formerly belonged to birth only Down to the beginning of the first Punic war the Roman republic had every year paid the sum of 500 minae to defray the expenses of the public festivals and games [22] but from that time forward the aediles were obliged to

[21] Liv *Epit* xviii *Cic de Leg* [22] Dionys vii p 415 ed Sylb
ii 21 *de Orat* iii 33, *Brut* 14

undertake the payment of those expenses: as the aedileship was an introduction to the higher offices, the latter became inaccessible to any except those of the wealthy classes, and no one who had not treated the people with splendid games in his aedileship could hope to be raised to higher dignities. This change, therefore, was one of the highest importance, and exercised no small influence upon the future condition of the republic. In B.C. 243, a second praetor was appointed, probably on account of the necessity of keeping a reserve army in Italy, to prevent the enemy from landing on the coasts, which were no longer protected by a fleet.

In B.C. 264, Rome saw the first gladiatorial exhibition; it was presented by D. Junius Brutus at the exequies of his father. How much those games, which afterwards became one of the principal amusements of the Romans, contributed to debase and brutalise their national taste and character, it will require no explanation to conceive.

CHAPTER XVI

DISTRESS OF CARTHAGE, AND ITS LOSS OF SARDINIA—WARS AGAINST THE ILLYRIANS LIGURIANS AND GAULS—THE CARTHAGINIANS IN SPAIN—THE SAGUNTINE WAR.

THE peace with Carthage had scarcely been concluded when the inhabitants of Falerii rose against Rome (B C 241) but this senseless revolt of a single town against the city that had just acquired the dominion of Sicily and had humbled the power of Carthage was put down within six days and a large number of *Faliscans had to pay for their fool hardiness with their lives* Rome however was in a state of great exhaustion for though she had not seen the enemy in her own territory still the expenditure of such immense sums of money with the loss of no less than 700 ships was felt very severely She therefore required time to recover her strength and it was probably not without satisfaction that she witnessed the new disasters which befel Carthage immediately after the peace

It has already been remarked that the armies of Carthage consisted mainly of mercenaries when the troops returned to Africa after the evacuation of Sicily Carthage was unable to pay the arrears due to these clamorous hordes which consisted of persons from all parts of the ancient world The insurgents were stirred up and encouraged by the Italian deserters who dreaded nothing more than to be delivered up to the Romans One of these deserters Spendius a Campanian made himself particularly conspicuous and was one of the leaders of the insurgents This intestine war was carried on with the greatest cruelty and brutality on both sides and Carthage was brought to

the brink of destruction, for at times its whole dominion was confined within its walls and fortifications, all the surrounding country being in the hands of the rebels The Carthaginian subjects in Africa, and even the Punic towns of Utica and Hippo, likewise revolted, for they were unable to bear the heavy burdens that were imposed upon them Utica went so far as to offer to place itself under the protection of Rome, but the Romans were generous and honourable enough to refuse this protectorate—a conduct forming a strange contrast to the faithlessness with which they acted towards Carthage a short time after This internal or African war, which lasted for three years and four months,[1] was brought to a close by the great Hamilcar Barca, who was aided in suppressing and destroying the rebels, partly by their own acts of barbarous cruelty, and partly by the generous conduct of the Romans, who declined having any dealings with them, and protected the provisions which were conveyed to Carthage

During this war in Africa, the Carthaginian mercenaries in Sardinia likewise revolted, and massacred the Carthaginian colonists in the island The natives of Sardinia, however, rose against the mercenaries, and drove them from the island These men threw themselves into the arms of the Romans, who eagerly seized the opportunity of making a new conquest, and in B C 238 took possession of Sardinia The natives, perhaps stirred up by the Carthaginians, opposed the Romans, and continued their hostilities for many years, with one short interruption in B C 235, during which the temple of Janus at Rome was closed. When, after the close of the African war, the Carthaginians attempted to chastise the rebellious mercenaries of Sardinia, they were treated by the Romans as if they were attempting to commit acts of hostility towards Rome, and, being not yet prepared to renew the struggle with her, were obliged to yield Carthage lost the islands of Sardinia and Corsica, in both of which islands

[1] Polyb i 88, comp Liv xxi 2 Diodorus (xxv. 1, *Eclog* p. 510) erroneously states that it lasted four years and four months.

however the natives manfully continued to defend their liberty, and further was obliged to pay to Rome a contribution of 1200 talents This perfidious conduct of Rome who thus took advantage of the unfortunate condition of a rival republic, was contrary to all law and conscience and such as to warrant the conclusion, that the generosity displayed during the African war must have arisen from some selfish motives Rome's treachery excited the highest indignation at Carthage, and great efforts were made to recover strength for a new contest with her Hamilcar was the soul of the undertaking he devoted all his energies to the raising of his country, and successfully endeavoured to render it fit one day again to take the field against its unprincipled and treacherous oppressors

In the year in which the Romans took possession of Sardinia and Corsica they had to carry on a war against the Ligurians and Boians which continued for several years along with that against the natives of Sardinia and Corsica that against the Ligurians continued for several years longer still

For nearly half a century the Cisalpine Gauls had been quiet, either because they were not disturbed by any fresh immigration from the north, or because they rested satisfied in the belief that the Romans had forgotten them But their tranquillity was disturbed in B C 232 by the carrying into effect the agrarian law of the tribune C Flaminius in despite of the most vehement opposition of the aristocratical party His law[2] enacted, that the lands which had been taken from the Gauls in the last war with them and had come into the hands of the Romans as a wilderness should be distributed among the Roman citizens, and a number of Romans accordingly settled in those districts This circumstance is said to have made the Gauls uneasy and they commenced negotiations with their Transalpine kinsmen among whom great movements were going on at the time, but several

[2] This law was a *plebiscitum*, which acquired the force of law without a *senatus-consultum*. It is the first instance of the kind that occurs in Roman history —C c *De Senect* 4.

years yet passed away without anything being undertaken by the Gauls The negotiations with the Transalpine Gauls, however, created very great apprehensions at Rome

In B C 229, while Rome was still engaged in the war against the Lagunans, she became involved in another with the Illyrians inhabiting the countries which at present form the south of Dalmatia and the north of Albania, and which were then governed by a princess of the name of Teuta Her husband and predecessor, Agron, had extended his dominion over a part of Epirus over Corcyra Epidamnus Apollonia and Pharus, and his subjects had become formidable as pirates in the Adriatic and Ionian seas After his death his widow, Teuta had undertaken the government, in the name of her son Pinneus who was not of age The Illyrian pirates had plundered, among others, vessels belonging to Italian merchants, and had carried off the men as captives The Roman senate sent ambassadors to Illyricum to demand reparation Queen Teuta answered she would take care that in future no public injury should be done to the Roman people by her subjects but that she could not prevent their carrying on piracy which was a national custom of the Illyrians and from which they derived their means of living The noble and bold answer of one of the ambassadors that it was the custom of Rome to punish in the name of the republic any private wrong and to give succour to those who were injured and that the bad custom of the Illyrians must be done away with exasperated the queen so much that, after the departure of the ambassadors she despatched assassins who slew them As soon as this violation of the law of nations became known at Rome war was declared against the Illyrians the consuls of B C 229 were sent out with an army and a fleet of 200 ships and landed on the Illyrian coast The enemy though attacked in his own country made but little resistance, many towns were taken and several Illyrian tribes were reduced to submission The Greek towns which had been under the dominion of the Illyrians placed themselves under the protec

In this manner the Romans became the real benefactors of the islands and maritime towns of Greece, which had suffered greatly from the Illyrian pirates Up to this time the Romans never seem to have entertained the thought of crossing the Adriatic, or extending their dominion over the countries to the east of it, but different ideas seem now to have possessed their minds. It is surprising to observe how anxious they were to court the friendship of the Greeks, and it would seem that they felt a pride in being noticed by them, for embassies were sent to Athens and to Corinth The former city honoured the Romans with its friendship, and the right of isopolity and allowed them to become initiated in the Eleusinian mysteries while Corinth conferred upon them the right of taking part in the Isthmian games [1]

The time was now approaching when the Boians who thought themselves injured by the settlement of the Romans in their immediate vicinity, were enabled to take active measures to prevent their further advancing into their territory They had formed alliances with the Taurisceans and the Insubrians, in the country about Milan, and were joined by many other Celtic

[1] Polyb. ii 12 Zonar viii. 19

tribes, which are known to us under the name of Gaesatae[4] Hosts of these Gaesatae came across the Alps in B C 226, and invaded Italy, and the intelligence of their arrival filled the Romans with very great alarm The most extraordinary preparations were made to meet these enemies, for the fears and apprehensions of Rome were even greater than afterwards when Hannibal descended from the Alps A general levy was made throughout Italy, and every one was ready to take up arms, as all looked with horror upon the invasion of these northern barbarians An army was raised which amounted to 300,000 men and according to others even to 800 000 There was a prophecy current at Rome that the city should be taken by the Gauls and Greeks, and when the books of fate were consulted the Romans were enjoined to bury alive in the forum boarium two Gauls and two Greeks [5] by this sacrifice they hoped to satisfy Fate, and to avert the impending calamity The consul L Aemilius Papus was sent with an army to Ariminum, his colleague C Atilius being still engaged in Sardinia, and a corps of reserve was stationed in Etruria. The Gauls unconcerned about the army at Ariminum marched into Etruria ravaged the country and advanced as far as Clusium a distance of only three days' journey from Rome Here they learned that the Roman army which had to protect Etruria was following their traces The Gauls immediately turned round to meet the enemy but in the night following they left their cavalry behind and marched in a different direction The next morning the Romans who fancied that the barbarians had taken to flight, pursued the cavalry but the Gallic infantry, which had been lying in ambush now rushed forward and offered battle The Romans lost a large number of men, and took refuge on an eminence where they were besieged by the enemy The blockade however was conducted very carelessly as the Gauls thought they were sure of their prey But after

[4] Probably from the Celtic *gaesum* a spear or javelin though Polybius (ii 22) asserts that it signifies mercenaries δι' τὸ μισθοῦ στρατεύειν

[5] Plut *Marcell* 3 Oros iv 13

L. Aemilius had heard of the enemy's invasion of Etruria and of their proceedings there he hastened to the assistance of his countrymen He succeeded in rescuing the Roman army from its perilous position, and the Gauls withdrew along the sea-coast, in order to carry their booty into a safe place Aemilius followed them but did not venture to attack them In the meantime the other consul C Atilius had landed at Pisa with his army from Sardinia, and when he learned that the Gauls were not far off and that they were pursued by his colleague he at once attacked them. A most destructive battle was fought the Gauls being pressed between two armies lo t the greater part of their infantry and the cavalry took to flight about 40 000 Gauls are said to have fallen in the battle and 10 000 were taken prisoners

The year after this battle, B C 224 the two consuls took the field against the Gauls and compelled the Boians to submit to Rome In that year the Roman legions for the first time crossed the river Po and carried on the war against the Insubrians who being supported by the Transalpine Gauls defended themselves very gallantly in their unprotected country But in B C 223 the consul C Flaminius gained a great victory over them He fought the battle against the will of the senate for the consuls of that year some said, had not been elected in due form and while he was arrayed against the enemy a letter from the senate arrived in the camp summoning him and his colleague to come back to Rome but Flaminius left the letter unopened until the battle was fought and when afterwards he read its contents he still refused to return The agrarian law which he had carried in his tribuneship was a point which the senatorial party had never forgiven him and he may have had reason to dread their machinations and intrigues When at length he complied with the command of the senate both he and his colleague were obliged to lay down their office The war against the Gauls and Insubrians was brought to its close in the year after by the brave consul, M Claudius Marcellus who slew Viridomarus the leader of the Gauls with his own hand in the battle of

Clastidium After this defeat the Gauls sued for peace, which was granted them on condition of their acknowledging the sovereignty of Rome By this peace the Romans became masters of the whole plain of Lombardy, which they called Gallia Cisalpina, and afterwards Gallia Togata, and in order to secure their new acquisitions they established the colonies of Cremona and Placentia it is not improbable that Mutina was founded and fortified about the same time

In the year B C 219, the faithless conduct of Demetrius of Pharus gave rise to the second Illyrian war He had ceased to fear the Romans, because he thought them sufficiently engaged with the Gauls, and he not only renewed the piratical practices of the Illyrians as far as the Aegean sea, but even attempted to make himself master of those towns which were under the protection of Rome The Romans, therefore sent the consul, L Aemilius Paulus, with an army to Illyricum He took Pharus without any difficulty, and subdued the whole of Illyricum, after which he returned to Rome in triumph Demetrius took refuge at the court of Philip of Macedonia with whom he spent the remainder of his life, and used his influence to stir him up against the Romans, whereby he prepared the way for future events

While the Romans were thus engaged in wars with the Sardinians Corsicans, Ligurians Gauls, and Illyrians the Carthaginians had been making the most strenuous efforts to recover their strength, and to establish in some other quarter the power they had lost in Sicily and Sardinia Hamilcar Barca was the man who conceived and carried into effect the wise plan of raising a Carthaginian empire in Spain, for Spain was a country which, in the course of a little time, might, by wise management, become so united with Carthage, as to enable her to obtain national armies one of the main things of which she was in want, and, besides this it offered advantages which would never have been derived from Sicily or Sardinia Up to this time the Carthaginians had possessed only a small portion of the Spanish

coast, but Hamilcar's plan now was to subdue the Spaniards, and then, by winning their affection, to change them gradually into a Punic nation. With this object in view he treated them kindly, and put no obstacles in the way of marriages between Carthaginian men and Spanish women. He had come to Spain, B.C. 238, immediately after the close of the African war, and he conducted the administration of the country with extraordinary wisdom, opening new resources for Carthage by introducing a regular working of the silver mines in Spain. On his death in B.C. 229, he left the command to Hasdrubal, his son in law. The latter followed the same system as his predecessor, and founded the town of New Carthage (Carthagena). The Romans were at this time apprehending the invasion of the Gauls, and in order to secure themselves against any aggression on the part of the Carthaginians, they concluded, in B.C. 226, a treaty with Hasdrubal, in which they recognised the right of Carthage to rule over or make conquests in all Spain beyond the river Iberus (Ebro), but stipulated that she should not cross that river.[6] Hasdrubal had the command in Spain for a period of eight years: he was assassinated in B.C. 221, when he was succeeded by Hannibal, the son of Hamilcar Barca, who, when a boy of nine years, had sworn eternal enmity to the Romans, and was now about twenty six years old.

Hannibal was one of the greatest generals, not only of antiquity but of all ages, and no less great as a statesman in times of peace, than at the head of his armies. The character which Livy has drawn of him is unfair: the charge of inhumanity or cruelty is expressly contradicted by Polybius, and of his alleged faithlessness not a single instance is known. He was a man of cultivated mind, and during his leisure hours intelligent and learned Greeks were his favourite companions. He also seems like his father

[6] Polyb. iii. 13, iii. 27. Livy (xxi. 2) adds that according to this treaty Saguntum was to have remained free, and under the protection of Rome. If this had been the case, Hannibal's subsequent siege and destruction of Saguntum would indeed have been a violation of the treaty. But Polybius denies that the freedom of Saguntum was stipulated for in the treaty.

to have possessed irresistible personal attractions which enabled him to manage and guide those that were under him without any difficulty and no one ever ventured to raise his hand against him notwithstanding the exorbitant demands he was obliged to make upon them

Immediately after he had undertaken the administration of Spain he made war against the Oretes, and afterwards upon the Vaccæans and Carpetanians by whose subjugation the Carthaginians became masters of Spain as far as the river Iberus with the exception of the town of Saguntum His next operations were directed against that town by interfering in its disputes with its neighbours The Saguntines who were well aware of his object applied to Rome for assistance, and while the senate was resolving to send ambassadors to Spain for the purpose of looking into the affairs of Saguntum, which was certainly allied with Rome, Hannibal had commenced the siege of the place B.C. 219[7] The ambassadors were now forthwith sent to Spain to call upon Hannibal to abstain from hostilities towards Saguntum or if they should be unable to effect this to cross over into Africa and demand of the Carthaginian government the surrender of Hannibal When the ambassadors arrived in Spain, Hannibal continued the siege without listening to them and they accordingly went to Carthage But there they met with no better success The Saguntines in the meantime defended themselves with truly heroic valour and it was not till the eighth month after the commencement of the siege that the town was taken by assault It was razed to the ground[8] Hannibal with immense booty withdrew to New Carthage and made the necessary preparations for his invasion of Italy

Another embassy was sent to Carthage but it was received in

[7] Livy (xxi 6) places the beginning of the siege in B.C. 218 in consequence of which he is obliged to assign to the several events which must have occupied at least eighteen months

[8] The Romans afterwards rebuilt Saguntum and ruins of the Roman Saguntum are still visible near the town of Murviedro, which in fact derives its name from those ruins (*muri veteres*)

a manner which might have been foreseen after so long an irritation, and so ardent a desire to take vengeance on Rome for her treacherous conduct in reference to Sardinia The Carthaginians were divided by political parties and could not come to any resolution, they were neither willing to admit that they had violated any treaty, nor to surrender Hannibal one of the ambassadors, Q Fabius, then made a fold of his toga, as if he was carrying something in it, and said, "Here we bring you peace and war, choose whichever you please" The leader of the Carthaginian senate replied, 'Give us whichever you think proper" Fabius then unfolded his toga and said, "Well, then, I offer you war," and the Punic senators answered, "We accept it, and shall carry it on in the same spirit in which we accept it" The Roman ambassadors hereupon quitted Carthage forthwith on their way home they endeavoured to gain over the Spaniards and Gauls but their proposals were scorned and rejected

Thus the second Punic war was decreed, to which the Saguntine war forms only a prelude Down to the time when Hannibal began the siege of Saguntum the Romans had acted the part of mere spectators, but the storm which had been gathering in the distant horizon was now on the point of unloading itself upon the fair plains of Italy

CHAPTER XVII

THE SECOND PUNIC, OR THE HANNIBALIAN WAR—CONDITION OF ROME AND ITALY AFTER THE WAR.

THE taking of Saguntum was indeed the occasion, but by no means the cause of the second Punic war, for this must be sought in the deep exasperation of the Carthaginians against Rome, which had been fostered by Hamilcar, Hannibal, and the patriotic party at Carthage The aristocratic party was, indeed, willing to sacrifice Hannibal for the purpose of maintaining peace with Rome, but the popular feeling, and the influence of what Livy calls the Barcine faction, were too strong, and overruled the opposition Rome, on the other hand, would have been glad if the outbreak of the war could have been delayed for some time, for the Gauls were as yet scarcely reduced to submission, and the Illyrian war, which was brought about in B C 219 by the conduct of Demetrius of Pharus, could not incline Rome to engage in a fresh contest with Carthage But it seems to have been these very circumstances which made Hannibal all the more anxious not to defer carrying into effect his plans

The principal scenes of this war, which Livy calls the most memorable that was ever carried on, and which lasted for seventeen years, from B C 218 to B C 201, were Italy, Spain, Sicily, and at last Africa The war itself, in order to be properly understood must be divided into five periods—1 Hannibal's passage through Spain, Gaul, and across the Alps, with the first three years of his success in Italy, from B C 218 till B C 215 2 The subsequent events, down to the taking of Capua, when his star began to sink, and the Romans somewhat began to recover their losses, from B C 214 to B C 211 3 The period

during which Hannibal placed his hopes upon Spain, and upon the reinforcements he expected from his brother Hasdrubal, who fell in the battle on the Metaurus, from B C 211 to B C 207 4 Hannibal's last years in Italy down to its evacuation, from B C. 207 to B C 202 And, lastly, 5 The conclusion of the war in Africa, down to the peace in B C 201 —The war in Spain began simultaneously with that in Italy, but was decided in favour of Rome in B C 210 by the taking of New Carthage, though the war continued down to B C 206 The Sicilian war, from B C 215 to B C 210, forms only an episode to the great and bloody drama The Macedonian war, which arose out of that against Hannibal, in B C 214, was carried on along with that against Hannibal, but an account of it will be given in a separate chapter

After the war had been decreed, Hannibal assembled his troops in the neighbourhood of New Carthage. The soldiers were attached to him in the highest degree, for his appearance reminded the veterans of his father Hamilcar He acted with extraordinary caution for while he enlisted great numbers of Spaniards to accompany him in his expedition, he sent others to Africa, where they had to serve as garrisons and might be kept as a kind of hostages for the fidelity of their countrymen After intrusting the command in Spain to his brother Hasdrubal, he crossed the Iberus in the beginning of the summer[1] of the year B C 218, with an army of 90 000 foot 12 000 horse, and 37 elephants The Spanish tribes which were under the protection of Rome offered little resistance and he crossed the Pyrenees, not far from the sea, where the mountains slope down towards the coast a portion of his army being left in Hither Spain under the command of Hanno When he approached the passes of the Pyrenees a mutiny broke out among his soldiers, and several thousands, refusing to go any further returned home In order to show that he would not compel the reluctant, Hannibal allowed all those who were unwilling to accompany him to go

[1] Polyb v 1

back The remaining army, which he now led towards the river Rhone, consisted of 50,000 foot and 9000 horse He had before sent envoys to the Gauls, to ask for a free passage through their country, and on their return they brought presents, and the assurance that he would not meet with any resistance between the Pyrenees and the Rhone

When the Romans learned that it was Hannibal's intention to cross the Alps, they resolved to send the consul P Cornelius Scipio with an army and fleet to Gaul, and his colleague Tib Sempronius Longus with another to Sicily Had Scipio arrived with his fleet before Hannibal had left Spain, he might perhaps have stopped his progress, but the Romans who underrated the importance of their enemy, were slow and awkward, and their army consisted for the most part of inexperienced recruits As it was Hannibal had made himself master of Spain as far as the Pyrenees, before the Roman fleet under Scipio set sail, and when the latter arrived at Massilia he sent his horsemen up the river, and found that Hannibal was already on the eastern bank of the Rhone Scipio then returned to his ships, without making any further attempt to stop the enemy's progress The Carthaginians had crossed the river in the neighbourhood of Roquemaure at Pont St Esprit and not without a powerful opposition of the Gauls who dreaded the starving host of invaders who were obliged to take all they could get in order to maintain themselves Hannibal avoided coming into contact with the Romans, and marched up the river Near the point where the Isere empties itself into the Rhone he formed an alliance with the chieftain of the Allobroges, and proceeded through their territory as far as Vienne From thence he turned towards Chambery and followed the course of the Isere to its source until he arrived at the foot of the Little St Bernard

When Hannibal reached this point he had already lost a considerable number of his men, but the remaining part of the army must have been still sufficiently large to require all the provisions which the Alpine tribes, through whose territory he

marched, had laid by for the winter. Hence those tribes resolutely opposed the progress of the Carthaginians In addition to these difficulties, Hannibal had to struggle with the severity of the season, with snow and frost, with want of provisions, and the consequent despondency of the soldiers, who, accustomed as they were to a milder climate, now suffered greatly from cold and hunger In many parts, also, it was necessary to clear the road from snow before the army could proceed But notwithstanding all these difficulties Hannibal crossed the Alps in fifteen days, and through the valley of the Aosta he descended from the Little St Bernard into the plain of Turin, where no one had expected him [2]

When Hannibal arrived in the valley of the Aosta, five months after his departure from New Carthage, he had lost nearly all his elephants, and his army was reduced to 20,000 foot and 6000 horse, still an astonishing number, if we consider the difficulties which he must have had to encounter The want of decision and energy with which the Romans acted during the time that Hannibal was advancing, can be accounted for only on the supposition that they believed it impossible for him to accomplish his gigantic undertaking, and that if he should reach the southern side of the Alps, his army would be in a condition that would require but little effort on the part of the Romans completely to annihilate it Hence Scipio, who ought to have awaited Hannibal's arrival at the foot of the Alps, had lingered at Massilia He sent his brother, Cn Cornelius Scipio, with the greater part of his army to Spain, and then went to Pisa He did not reach the river Po until Hannibal descended from the Alps, and to the amazement of all had overcome all the immense difficulties which nature and circumstances had placed in his way The Cisalpine Gauls, who

[2] We have here followed the route as made out by General Melville, as to the correctness of which there can be no doubt. Livy's description is unintelligible in some parts, and in others truly absurd. Melville's account of Hannibal's march through Gaul and across the Alps may be read in J. A. De Luc's *Histoire du Passage des Alpes par Hannibal, avec une Carte*, Genève et Paris, 1818, 8vo., where use is made of the papers of General Melville, whose account was tested by De Luc's own investigations.

Hannibal irritated the Romans and enticed them to cross the river they allowed themselves to be ensnared, and Sempronius led his men through the cold and icy river There was at the time a sprinkling of snow, which the wind blew into the faces of the Romans When, therefore, they arrived on the opposite bank, the soldiers were almost frozen Hannibal who had contrived to keep his men in excellent condition for fighting now advanced to meet the enemy The Romans, although they were already defeated by the severity of the elements and of the season fought most bravely, but they were beaten their left wing escaped to Placentia, whither they were followed by all who survived the day, for the weather became so tempestuous that the Carthaginians did not think it advisable to pursue the enemy

The army at Placentia having thus escaped the consuls at first tried to deceive the Roman senate about the extent of the loss they had sustained, but the truth became known but too soon, for even before Hannibal took up his winter quarters, his army spread over both banks of the Po The Romans, however, true to their genius, did not despond, and with confidence in the protection of the immortal gods they exerted all their powers to preserve and secure possessions which it was easy to lose, but difficult to recover when once lost New armies accordingly were raised, and Sardinia and Sicily, Tarentum and other towns were strongly garrisoned, in order to keep them in submission In the spring of B C 217, the consul C Flaminius went with his army to Arminium, where he was joined by a portion of the soldiers who had served under Scipio the year before Flaminius who may have been rash and inconsiderate is yet greatly misrepresented in history He was hated by the aristocratic party, because in his tribuneship he had carried the agrarian law, enacting that the ager Gallicus Picenus should be distributed among the people, and because he had subsequently supported another law which affected the pockets of the insatiable aristocrats[3] Hanni

[3] The law here alluded to was carried by the tribune, Q Claudius, in B.C. 218 it enacted, that no senator should be permitted to have a sea-ship

himself was among the slain Hannibal, whose object it was to create for himself a power in Italy, before he could humble Rome to the dust, distributed the Roman prisoners among his army to be guarded, while he allowed the Italian allies of Rome to return to their homes without ransom Here, as elsewhere, it was his maxim not to wage war against the Italians, but to make them believe that he was fighting against Rome on their behalf Immediately after the battle of lake Trasimenus, Hannibal heard that the consul Cn Servilius who was stationed at Ariminum to protect the province of Gaul, had sent a detachment to assist C Flaminius as soon as this detachment fell in with the Carthaginians, most of the men were cut to pieces, and the remainder fell into the hands of Hannibal alive

When the news of this memorable defeat reached Rome and the praetor announced to the assembly of the people that they had suffered a great loss the consternation was immense and in these distressing circumstances it was resolved to appoint a dictator As the consul Cn. Servilius was absent the people—a thing which had never been done before—elected Q Fabius Maximus to the office, and M Minucius was appointed his magister equitum Fabius has a great name in history, and in some respects it is well deserved, for he was a calm cautious and persevering general and his recovery of Tarentum was a great military achievement but his personal character does not merit the praise that is commonly bestowed upon him, for his subsequent opposition to the great Scipio who was still quite a young man when Fabius had reached the height of his fame arose from mere personal jealousy and envy Fabius could not contemplate without grief the rising greatness of Scipio and it is clear that he would have rather seen Hannibal victorious than seen him conquered by Scipio M Minucius was a general of the very opposite kind for he was bold ambitious and hasty A new army was formed, partly of those who had survived the day on lake Trasimenus, and partly by fresh levies, and the want of soldiers was so great, that even prisoners were enlisted

After the battle of Trasumenus, Hannibal was expected to march straightway to Rome; but he went towards Spoletum, from the conquest of which Roman colony he hoped to derive great advantages. But that town held out, and remained faithful to Rome, and as he had a great aversion to protracted sieges, he broke up and marched into Picenum, which abounded in provisions for his army. There he took up his summer quarters, which are as necessary in Italy as winter quarters are in northern countries. The question which must here present itself to every reader, is, why did not Hannibal march against Rome, and endeavour to take it at a time when the greatest consternation was prevailing in the city? The answer to this question must be sought for in the circumstances of the case. Rome was then a strong fortress and could not be easily taken, and to blockade it would have required a very large army. But what was probably of greater weight with him, was the condition of his own army. His soldiers were suffering from a cutaneous disease, in consequence of their stay in the unhealthy country of Cisalpine Gaul, and of their subsequent passage through the marshes of Etruria. The unhealthy atmosphere of the vicinity of Rome, during the summer months, might have destroyed his whole army. In addition to this, it must be remembered that his hope of success was mainly based upon a coalition of the Italians against Rome, but though from the moment of his arrival in Italy he had treated the Italians with great generosity, still he had not yet been able to rouse or unite them against Rome. These were sufficient reasons to deter a general like Hannibal from the attempt to take Rome by force, and he accordingly led his army southward, along the coast of the Adriatic. His march from Picenum to Apulia was a series of calamities for those districts, for, as the walls of most of the towns had been destroyed by recent earthquakes, Hannibal meeting with little resistance, obliged the people to furnish his army with the necessary provisions, and while the soldiers ravaged the country, the dictator Fabius followed them at a short distance, harassing

the enemy, and always pitching his camp on lofty hills, so that Hannibal compared the enemy's army to a cloud hovering on the mountains.[6] Hannibal's object was to gain the Via Latina and the town of Casinum and then to see what effect his position would produce on the Italians. But in some mistake Hannibal's general led the army to Casilinum instead of Casinum, and by this unlucky accident Fabius got ahead of the enemy, and cut off his retreat between Casilinum and mount Callicula. When Hannibal discovered the mistake he saved his army by a stratagem. He fastened bundles of brushwood to the horns of 2000 oxen and having set fire to the wood he drove them towards the Romans. When the animals in the darkness of night advanced the Romans were frightened by the singular spectacle, and quitted their favourable position, which was immediately occupied by Hannibal who then returned through Samnium to the frontiers of Apulia and the Frentanians. Here he was again met by Fabius, who ventured upon petty skirmishes in which the Romans gained some advantages which led them to the belief that if an effort were made, it would be an easy matter to chase the enemy from Italy and that his being still in the country was owing only to the excessive caution of the dictator. Hence, as some advantages had been gained by Minucius, a law was passed at Rome enacting that the magister equitum should have equal power with the dictator and the command of one-half of the army.[7] On this occasion Fabius showed a real greatness of mind, for he not only brooked the insult, preferring to be feared by a prudent enemy to being praised by a foolish people but even saved the rash Minucius who allowed himself to be drawn into an engagement with the Carthaginians from utter destruction. This act of generosity induced Minucius to resign his power and his deliverer now terminated the campaign of the year in as favourable a manner as the circumstances would allow. He was henceforth distinguished by

[6] Liv. xxii. 30. [7] Liv. xxii. 25. Polyb. iii. 103. Plut. *Fab.* 9.

the honourable surname of the Slack (*Cunctator*), and of him Ennius sang —

Unus homo nobis cunctando restituit rem.[8]

Soon after these occurrences Fabius laid down his dictatorship, and the consuls who now resumed their command followed his plan of operation but without being able to effect anything decisive

Hannibal spent the winter in Apulia where he was in rather distressed circumstances, for the produce of the fields had been carried into the fortified towns before his arrival and he had great difficulty in providing food for his army His position was all the more precarious because up to this time he had not been joined by one of the Italian nations These circumstances, together with the advantages which his enemies had gained in Spain and Italy raised great hopes in the minds of the Romans but a fearful day was yet awaiting them a day which would have been certain ruin to any other republic The consuls of the year B C 216 were L Aemilius Paulus a patrician who cherished a profound hatred of the people and C Terentius Varro who is said to have been a butcher's son and to have risen by his demagogic artifices[9] These consuls who were expected to put an end to the war with one blow led into the field an army of 80 000 foot and upwards of 6000 horse With these forces they entered Apulia and pitched their camp on the banks of the river Aufidus not far from the little town of Cannae where they kept their stores Hannibal had no more elephants but his cavalry was excellent Cannae was taken by him under the very eyes of the Romans who were timid and not inclined to venture upon a decisive battle though the consul Varro was anxious to strike the blow After a long delay which it is difficult to account for the fatal battle was fought on the second of August[10]

[8] Cicero *De Off* i 24 81 Ital. vii 315 &c

[9] Liv xxii 25 It must be observed that Polybius does not mention the low birth of Varro, and the subsequent history of the man cannot be well reconciled with Livy's account.

[10] Gellius v 17 Macrob *Saturn* i 16

It is said that Hannibal had taken up such a position, that a high wind, which usually rose at noon tide, blew the dust into the faces of the Romans, and that on the day before the battle he had ordered the fields to be ploughed in order to increase the dust The Romans advanced against the retreating centre of the Gauls, but were outflanked on both sides by the Africans, and though tired were obliged to maintain the fight against the latter The Roman cavalry was unable to cope with the Spaniards and being surrounded on all sides, the Romans were pressed together and cut to pieces Forty five thousand dead covered the field of battle, among whom were the consul Aemilius Paulus, eighty senators, and a number of persons who had been invested with the highest offices of the republic The surviving Romans capitulated and surrendered on condition that Hannibal should commence negotiations with Rome for their ran om Varro escaped with a few horsemen to Venusia, and another small detachment threw itself into Cann ium, but Hannibal unconcerned about the latter, marched towards Capua

The consternation and paralysis which the news of this total defeat of so numerous an army produced at Rome is indescribable, but the Romans did not sink under it when Varro returned the senate went out to meet and thank him for not having despaired of the republic, and when Hannibal sent the Roman prisoners home to be ransomed, the senate stirred up by the vigorous speech of the stern T Manlius Torquatus, bade them return The Carthaginian envoys who came with proposals of peace were not admitted into the city, and a truly Roman severity was shown towards the unfortunate men who had survived the fearful day of Cannae, for they were treated as dishonoured per sons and sent to serve in the distant province of Sicily to wipe off their disgrace Hereupon the Romans endeavoured to propitiate the gods by sacrifices and the historian Fabius Pictor was sent as ambassador to Delphi, to learn from the oracle of Apollo what would be the end of all these misfortunes It deserves to be mentioned, that among the sacrifices offered up at that time

there were two pairs of human beings, a male and a female Gaul, and a male and a female Greek.[11]

Maharbal, the commander of the Carthaginian cavalry, had advised Hannibal, immediately after the battle of Cannae, to march against Rome, but Hannibal steadily kept to his original plan of destroying Rome through the Italians, as whose deliverer he wanted to appear. This drew upon him the reproach, that he knew better how to win a victory than how to make use of it. His plan however now seemed to be near its realisation, for a number of the Italian cities and towns, immediately after the fatal battle, abandoned the cause of Rome, and joined the Carthaginians. This was the case more especially in southern Italy, where the people still remembered their ancient liberty, and felt the weight of the Roman yoke, but even in middle Italy many towns went over to Hannibal, so that Rome was confined almost to the same extent of country which it had possessed previous to the conquest of Samnium. Hannibal was thus joined by Atella, Calatia, the Hirpinians, the Samnites with the exception of the Pentrians, the Bruttians, Lucanians, Surrentum, nearly all the Greek towns on the coasts, and all the Gauls in the north of Italy, but as he was obliged to maintain his army at the expense of his Italian allies, he was unable permanently to attach them to himself.

He had commenced negotiations with Capua, even before the battle of Cannae. This town was, next to Rome, the most important city in Italy, but wealth and luxuries had rendered its citizens unwarlike and effeminate. They stood to Rome in the favourable relation of isopolites, and the great families of Capua were connected by intermarriage with those of Rome, but in spite of all this Capua now turned against Rome, probably in the vain hope of becoming the mistress of Italy, if Rome should perish. This hope was fostered by Hannibal, and when, after the battle of Cannae he appeared in Campania everything was prepared for the revolt. The only circumstance that made

[11] Liv. xxii. 57.

Capua hesitate for a moment, was the fact that 300 of the noblest Campanians were engaged in Sicily in the service of Rome, and were regarded as a sort of hostages for the fidelity of Capua. But this scruple was got over Capua ungratefully deserted Rome, and concluded a favourable treaty with Hannibal. It retained its independence, and was allowed to select from among the Roman captives 300 of the noblest as a compensation for the 300 Campanians in Sicily Capua further committed the outrage of putting to death all the Romans that were staying within its walls In his march through Campania, Hannibal, who had as yet no port town to keep up a communication with Carthage, attempted to make himself master of Cumae, Naples, and Nola, but he was unsuccessful, and at the last of these places he even sustained a severe loss He entered Capua, and took up his winter quarters there He had now reached the highest point of his glory It is said that his stay in the effeminate city of Capua corrupted his army, and destroyed its discipline It may be that the luxurious life at Capua rendered his men disinclined further to endure the hardships which they had hitherto borne cheerfully but it must at the same time be taken into consideration that it was impossible for him to recruit his army from Spain, Africa, or Gaul that he had lost the best of his men in the battles he had fought, and that he had no other means of completing his regiments, except by enlisting Italian recruits These circumstances alone are perhaps sufficient to account for the fact, that after the battle of Cannae the Carthaginian army appears in a very different light from what it had been before The senate at Carthage where Hannibal's victories had silenced all opposition had decreed to send him reinforcements immediately after the battle of Cannae, but the decree was carried into effect with great sluggishness Some reinforcements, however must have reached him before he took up his winter quarters at Capua.[1]

Rome made the most incredible exertions to restore her armies

[1] Liv. xxii. 18

The management of the war was entrusted to the dictator M. Junius, and besides 8000 slaves who were purchased by the state on credit of their masters, and formed into two regiments, even gladiators were enlisted to serve in their usual arms While these efforts were made, Rome was suffering from an extreme scarcity of provisions It is therefore a very remarkable fact, that Hannibal, supported as he now was by many Italians, while Rome was in the greatest distress, from this time forward appears less and less able to cope with the Romans, and that the latter acquired new strength every day In B C 215, Hannibal made two unsuccessful attempts upon the fortified camp of the praetor, M Claudius Marcellus, at Nola, and sustained considerable losses whereas the Romans in the same year, began to restore their authority in Campania The Campanians behaved as cowards, and allowed themselves to be shut up like sheep in a fold. A Carthaginian detachment under Hanno which tried to relieve them, was beaten by Tib Sempronius Gracchus in the neighbourhood of Beneventum, and Hannibal seeing himself thwarted, appears for a time to have lost his former energy, for though he had now received reinforcements from Carthage still he allowed the Romans to blockade Capua without making any attempt to save the place He lingered in Apulia and Lucania, making some petty conquests and left Capua to its fate At length, however he appeared in its neighbourhood and as he found the Romans unwilling to accept a battle he marched along the Via Latina towards Rome and crossed the river Liris near Fregellae As he proceeded further the city of Rome was thrown into a state of the greatest alarm but he did not find a favourable reception anywhere. Q Fulvius who was conducting the blockade of Capua was called back to protect Rome This was just what Hannibal wished but the Carthaginian officer who had been left behind to introduce provisions into Capua, or to relieve it if he could was quite unfit for his post and did not succeed Hannibal in the meantime, had pitched his camp in the immediate neighbourhood of Rome, near the Colline gate,

but when Fulvius arrived and offered battle, Hannibal declined it, and, satisfying himself with ravaging the country, returned to Campania, and thence to Rhegium Capua still continued to be blockaded by another Roman army

Hiero of Syracuse, the faithful ally of Rome, died in B C 216, and was succeeded by his grandson Hieronymus, who, thinking that after the battle of Cannae Rome would be unable to raise her head again, began to treat the Romans with contempt, and to negotiate with Hannibal The latter made all possible concessions, on condition of Hieronymus renouncing the friendship of Rome But the tyrannical rule of Hieronymus exasperated his subjects, and after a reign of thirteen months he was murdered Two Carthaginians of Syracusan origin, Hippocrates and Epicydes, now usurped the government of Syracuse, and them the Romans immediately tried to win over to their interest, but as the usurpers openly declared themselves against Rome, an army was sent under M Claudius Marcellus to Sicily, B C 214 Marcellus laid siege to Syracuse and afterwards blockaded it, but it was not taken till B C 212, when Marcellus made himself master of the place by treachery The siege of Syracuse is remarkable on account of the engines which Archimedes is said to have used in its defence It is related that he destroyed the works of the Romans by means of burning-glasses, but this seems to be an invention and all that can be said with certainty is, that by his superior skill in mechanics he constantly thwarted the attempts of the battering rams, and destroyed the military engines of the Romans After taking the town, Marcellus, indeed, did not allow the soldiers to plunder or destroy it but he treated its inhabitants with barbarous cruelty those who were not sold as slaves were driven out into the open fields, where they died of hunger, and many gave themselves out as slaves that they might escape starvation.[13]

Another example of similar cruelty was exhibited in B C. 211, in the reconquest of Capua, though in this case the Romans had

[13] Diodor *Excerpt Vat* p 68, ed. Dindorf, comp. *Excerpt Vales* p. 569

had greater provocation than in Sicily. Capua was not indeed destroyed, but the Romans raged against its inhabitants with all imaginable fury. Before the gates were thrown open to the Romans, the most distinguished persons had made away with themselves, in order not to fall into the hands of the enemy, and others killed their wives and children When the gates were opened, the Roman soldiers acted like infuriated demons all the nobles were put in chains, the mass of the people were driven from their houses, the senators were put to the sword, and no one was allowed to remain in the town except slaves and freedmen The whole territory of Capua was made domain land of the Roman republic [14]

In B C 212, Hannibal, after a long siege, gained possession of Tarentum, but it was retaken in B C 209 by Q Fabius Maximus, the place being treacherously delivered up into his hands by the persons whom Hannibal had intrusted with the command of its garrison The subjugation of Sicily had been completed the year before by the consul M Valerius Laevinus, and most of the Greek towns of Italy, being intimidated by the example of Syracuse and Capua, now abandoned the cause of Hannibal, whose situation became more and more difficult, and whose power was reduced from day to day His only hope now was his brother Hasdrubal

At the very beginning of this war, B C 218, the Romans had sent Cn Cornelius Scipio to Spain, to conduct the war against the Carthaginians under Hasdrubal He had soon after been joined by his brother Publius The two Scipios remained in Spain for a number of years, ever harassing the Carthaginians and keeping Hasdrubal engaged, so that after the battle of Cannae, when he was expected to march into Italy and co-operate with his brother, he was prevented by the Scipios, who gained considerable advantages over the Carthaginians, and conquered them near Ibera, in B C. 216, and near Illiberis, in B C 215 About the same time Syphax, king of the Masaesylians in the west of

[14] Liv xxvii 46

Numidia, formed a connection with the Scipios, and a Roman fleet sailed to Africa. Syphax attacked Carthage, but was defeated by Masinissa king of Numidia, who was then allied with Carthage. But in B.C. 212 the Scipios experienced the inconstancy of fortune, for both were slain within thirty days of each other and their armies were nearly annihilated. The remains of the army were saved only by the heroic conduct of L. Marcius who with the most desperate efforts prevented the enemy from reaping all the fruits of his victory. The Romans by these defeats, lost all their possessions south-east of the Iberus and Hasdrubal now made serious preparations for invading Italy. At Rome, the consternation was so great that no one was found willing to undertake the command in Spain, until at length, in B.C. 211, P. Cornelius Scipio the son of P. Scipio who had been killed in Spain came forward and offered to go. As he was then only 24 years old and was still in mourning for his father many objected to his age, as well as to the ominous circumstances of his being in mourning. But as he was extremely popular the people gave him the command with the title of proconsul, and provided him with all that was necessary for his bold undertaking. Thus young man who was to be the conqueror of Hannibal is next to him the greatest hero in this war. He is said to have distinguished himself as early as the battle on the Ticinus and throughout his career he showed a talent as a general which was surpassed by none save Hannibal. He was especially famous for his great piety and while at Rome he went every morning to the temple of Jupiter on the Capitol and prayed. Whether this religious feeling was genuine or merely assumed no one can say but it made him immensely popular with the superstitious multitude. As a citizen he was proud and haughty and in matters where his personal feelings were concerned he even despised the laws of his country, thus setting an evil example.

On his arrival in Spain, in B.C. 211 he found the army which he had to discipline in a state of complete disorganization. The great control he exercised over himself the

belief in his familiar intercourse with the gods and the success with which he commenced his operations soon inspired his soldiers with such confidence that no enemy seemed invincible He was soon the avenger of his father according to some accounts he had not been in Spain more than seven days before he took the strongly fortified and populous town of New Carthage [15] and C Laelius his friend and companion was despatched to carry the news of this happy event to Rome The taking of this important place was an irreparable loss to the Carthaginians who seem to have taken little trouble to relieve it perhaps because Hasdrubal s attention was wholly directed towards Italy after the conquest of which he may have thought that it would be an easy matter to recover what might be lost in Spain Scipio after the conquest of New Carthage traversed the southern part of the country and took many of the allied towns of the Carthaginians among which Astapa deserves to be particularly mentioned It was besieged by Marcius and as its citizens foresaw that owing to their staunch fidelity to Carthage they would be treated in a cruel manner if their town should be taken they fought with desperate bravery after nearly all had fallen the last fifty survivors according to an oath they had taken murdered all the women and children burnt all the treasures they possessed and at last made away with themselves [1] In B C 209 Hasdrubal assembled a large army near Baecula, which was joined by many Iberians under his brother Mago [2] and by Numidians under Masinissa The whole hostile forces consisted of 75 000 men and 36 elephants and Scipio hesitated as to whether he should attack so formidable a power for his own forces amounted to scarcely one third of that of the enemy Want of provisions at length obliged him to offer battle and he gained the victory but he could not prevent Masinissa going to Gades nor did Hasdrubal think it unsafe to

[15] It is however more than probable that he did not take that town till the year after i.e. B.C. 210 See Liv xxvi 41 &c xxvii 7

[1] Liv xxviii 22 Appian. *Hisp.* 33

Hasdrubal, the son of Gisco, and Mago were not able to supply his place They indeed continued the war against the Romans, but Scipio succeeded, in a succession of battles, in gradually repelling them, and after their defeat at Baecula they took refuge at Gades. The Spaniards became aware that they were given up by the Carthaginians, and that they were only made use of by them for the purpose of extorting money and the means of living Hence they began to refuse obedience, and endeavoured to drive them from the Peninsula Gades even shut its gates against Mago, and concluded a treaty with Rome Hasdrubal sailed to Africa, and Mago, who likewise embarked, led the remainder of his troops to the Balearian islands From thence he afterwards crossed over to Liguria, with a view to establish himself there and attack the Romans in Etruria, which then began to show symptoms of a rebellious spirit,[15] but his hopes were disappointed.

The Romans were now masters of Spain Scipio remained there upwards of three years he was now engaged in chastising the towns which had been faithless to Rome During this period an occurrence took place which is particularly remarkable, because it is the first perceptible symptom of a discontent which was gradually rising among the Italian allies of Rome They were obliged to furnish a contingent to the Roman armies far surpassing that of the Romans themselves in numbers, and they appear to have begun to feel that they ought to be placed on an equality with the citizens of Rome An insurrection broke out among the allies who served in Scipio's army they chose an Umbrian and a Latin for their leaders, and gave them the title and ensigns of Roman consuls The affair was of a very serious nature, but the deep cunning of Scipio deceived them He promised them their pay, and invited them to come to New Carthage, and in order to inspire them with confidence, he ordered the Roman garrison to quit the town before the mutineers entered. But while the latter were assembling in the

[15] Liv xxx. 19

market-place, the garrison returned and compelled the rebels to submit to the will of Scipio, who put thirty-five of the most guilty to death The chastisement of some Spanish chiefs was the last act of Scipio in Spain

But before returning to Rome he crossed over to Africa, B C 206, whither he was invited by Syphax, who had sometimes been at war with Carthage, and sometimes her ally, but was now in a sort of neutral position When Scipio arrived in Africa he concluded a treaty with him, which was the first step towards the realisation of Scipio's great plan He had from the first been persuaded that the war with Carthage must be brought to a close in Africa itself He was still proconsul, and now went to Rome to offer himself as a candidate for the consulship, though he had not yet attained the legitimate age But owing to the extraordinary popularity he enjoyed, the people, notwithstanding the jealous opposition of Fabius and his party,[19] unanimously elected him consul for the year B C 205, together with P Licinius Crassus But after he was made consul, and Sicily was assigned to him as his province, with the permission to cross over to Africa if he should think it desirable for the good of the republic, the same jealous party of Fabius, supported by the senate, refused him the means, without which he could not carry his plans into effect the people, on the other hand, not only of Rome but of all Italy, flocked to his standard and formed an army of volunteers, and the towns of Etruria and Umbria distinguished themselves above all others by their enthusiasm for the young hero A large fleet, and an army of 7000 volunteers, were thus soon assembled and followed Scipio to Sicily Hannibal was still tarrying in Bruttium, but in this confinement he resembled a lion surrounded by hounds and whoever attacked him paid dearly for it From Sicily, Scipio made an attack on Locri which was taken, but the avarice of one of his lieutenants, Q Pleminius, gave rise to a charge against Scipio that he neglected the discipline of his army, that he lived in luxury at Syracuse, that he assumed Greek man-

[19] Liv xxviii 40, &c.

ners and spent his time in reading Greek authors Commissioners were accordingly sent by the senate to examine the state of things in Sicily, but everything was found in the best order, and all suspicions were removed

The taking of Locri was the only event of any consequence in the year of Scipio's consulship it seems that he was chiefly engaged in making preparations for crossing over to Africa, which he did in the year following B C 204, his friend and legate, C Laelius having proceeded thither before him Scipio landed in the neighbourhood of Utica with an army of 17,000 foot and several thousand horse [20] It is surprising to find Carthage which a few years later appears in possession of a fleet of 500 ships not making any attempt either to meet the fleet of Scipio or to prevent his landing This may be accounted for, either by the unwarlike spirit of the Carthaginians, who did not think of any danger until they saw it before their own eyes or by supposing that there must have been disputes or treachery in the senate which rendered speedy measures of defence impracticable Syphax being induced by his love of Sophonisba the daughter of Hasdrubal, to disregard his alliance with Scipio had again joined the Carthaginians with his army Masinissa king of Numidia, on the other hand who had also been in love with Sophonisba but was deprived of her by Syphax secretly promised Scipio his support for he was at the time in alliance with Carthage

After his landing in Africa Scipio was met by three armies one under Hasdrubal which had been hurriedly assembled another under the command of Syphax and a third under that of Masinissa Scipio therefore was obliged to maintain himself on the defensive but Masinissa led the Carthaginians out to an undertaking which he had treacherously preconcerted with Scipio who lay in ambush waiting for the enemy and fell upon them as soon as they appeared Masinissa then went over to the Romans

[20] The place where he landed and pitched his camp was known in after times by the name of *Castra Cornelia* Caesar *Bell Civ* i 24, Oros iv 23

[21] Appian. *De Reb Pun.* 13, &c.

The greatest confusion prevailed among the Carthaginians, and a great number of them fell by the sword After this, Syphax and Hasdrubal took the field against Scipio Their tents were made of straw and branches, which in the hot climate of Africa soon became as dry as touch wood The Romans contrived to set them on fire, and amid the conflagration which now ensued, the Carthaginians allowed themselves to be butchered like sheep Syphax, as a true barbarian, now abandoned the cause of his allies and withdrew to his kingdom, where he was attacked by Masinissa and C Lælius He was defeated and taken prisoner, and a great part of his kingdom was given to Masinissa, who now married Sophonisba But as Scipio demanded her surrender, because he mistrusted her, Masinissa prevented her falling into the hands of the Roman by poisoning her Scipio had, in the meantime, made an attempt to blockade Utica, but without success

Carthage had by this time arrived at the conviction, that, without the return of Hannibal, all her hopes were vain In B C 202, having received the command to quit Italy, he unhesitatingly obeyed the summons of his country, and landed at Adrumetum He went to meet Scipio on the river Bagradas, and having lost all hope of success, he had an interview with the great Roman, at which he recommended the peace for which negotiations had already commenced The two heroes saw each other for the first time with silent admiration Hannibal was more than ever convinced that peace was the only means of saving Carthage, and Scipio too had not been unwilling to grant it for he had reason to fear lest a successor should be sent from Rome to reap the fruits of his labours The conditions which he had proposed were hard indeed, but yet mild in comparison with those which Carthage was afterwards compelled to accept A truce had been concluded during which ambassadors were sent to Rome to obtain the sanction of the senate to the terms of the peace But when the Carthaginians found that the forces of Hannibal were still considerable, they were vexed at the steps they had taken, and

began to insult the Romans in every possible way, being resolved once more to try their fortune The folly of the Carthaginian people thus broke off all negotiations, for as they had their general Hannibal among them they fancied themselves invincible He, although he severely censured their childish belief, was obliged to give way to their enthusiasm. The war was now decided by the fatal battle of Zama, in B C 202 Hannibal's army consisted of 50,000 men and 80 elephants, that of Scipio of 24,000 men, whom he drew up in columns, leaving large intervals between them for the elephants to escape, which spaces were then to be filled up by the cavalry so as to prevent the return of the elephants The plan succeeded admirably The Carthaginians fought like lions, but Scipio's skill and presence of mind decided the victory The greater part of the Carthaginian army was cut to pieces, and the remainder dispersed Hannibal himself escaped with a few companions to Adrumetum, and thence to Carthage, where the senate, unable to continue the war, had already commenced fresh negotiations for peace It was fortunate for Carthage that Scipio himself was anxious to bring the war to a close Hannibal too advised his countrymen to submit to necessity But the terms which Scipio now offered were much harder than those which he had proposed at first Carthage was to retain its territory in Africa and its own constitution, but to deliver up all Roman deserters and captives without ransom, to surrender its whole fleet with the exception of ten triremes, and all elephants, none of which were henceforth to be trained for purposes of war Carthage, further, was not allowed to carry on any war without the sanction of Rome, it was obliged to indemnify Masinissa for all the losses he had sustained and to recognise him as king of Numidia, it had to pay to Rome 10,000 Euboean talents by instalments in fifty years, that is 200 annually It was further commanded to give a large number of hostages and to provide the Roman army in Africa with all that was necessary for its maintenance, until the peace should be ratified at Rome by the senate and people Some of the Carthaginian nobles opposed

that wide gulf between the wealthy and the poor, of which we shall see the lamentable results about half a century later Towards the end of the war the republic had been under the necessity of raising a public loan and the money was to be paid back to the creditors by three instalments,[2] but the Macedonian war involved Rome in fresh difficulties and she was obliged to pay her debts in lands

At the close of the Hannibalian war the Roman dominion extended over Italy, Sicily Sardinia Corsica and a great part of Spain, even Carthage and Numidia existed only in a state of dependence on Rome The annihilation of the Carthaginian fleet had made the Romans masters of the sea They were henceforth obliged to keep a navy for the purpose of maintaining the communication with their possessions out of Italy, and to convey troops ammunition and provisions to and fro but the navy was never looked upon as a thing of first importance by the Romans the service in the fleet was at all times considered less honourable than that in the army and the commerce which had been carried on by the Carthaginians in all parts of the Mediterranean was not kept up by the Romans Rome seems by this time to have become conscious of her vocation to be the mistress of the world for her great object henceforth was to conquer foreign countries and to derive from them all the advantages she could The simplicity and frugality of the good old times were fast disappearing and in their train the virtues and noble sentiments of former times for the gold that was carried to Rome from Sicily Spain and Carthage exercised a sad influence both upon the public and domestic life of the Romans and engendered in the baser natures among them a desire for war merely for the sake of plunder and rapine

But notwithstanding all this Rome was now at the height of her political power and greatness and remained there for a long time before the evils the seeds of which had been sown became visible for the mighty council of the senate consisted of men

[2] Liv xxx 16

nature and condition of the states themselves, which came in contact with Rome, either as friends or as foes It is a truth well established both by ancient and modern history, that states whose institutions have become obsolete, or are in opposition to the spirit of the age, or have lost their moral vigour and energy, gradually decay in themselves, or are overthrown by such external powers as are in full bloom or development The states which had grown out of the vast monarchy of Alexander the Great, Macedonia, Syria, and Egypt, as well as Greece itself, were in this predicament, and after once coming in contact with all-absorbing Rome were unable for any length of time to resist the power of her arms

Ptolemaeus Philadelphus had concluded an alliance with Rome as early as B C 273 [2] in B C 201, the Roman senate was appointed guardian of young Ptolemaeus Epiphanes, in order to put an end to the disturbances and confusion in the kingdom of Egypt, which were fostered and nourished by the vices of its rulers Macedonia, which was hostile towards Egypt, had lost the vigour and energy by which it had risen, and Syria, which was now governed by Antiochus III or the Great, was fast hastening towards the fate of all eastern monarchies, so that, notwithstanding its alliance with Macedonia, it was unable to resist the policy and the arms of Rome as soon as they began to be directed towards it The Greek republics were pressed down by the Macedonian kings who aimed at the supremacy in Greece, and they were further weakened by internal dissensions and convulsions, no less than by the inroads of the Gallic hordes Most of the Greeks were devoid of republican virtues, though proud of those of their ancestors, and the majority sought comfort and recreation by plunging into the enjoyment of sensual pleasures The Achaeans, who had gained some insight into the evil consequences of the internal divisions of Greece, had formed a league by which they hoped to restore order and peace among themselves, but they were opposed by another league, formed by the Aetolians, who were

[2] Liv *Epit* 14 Eutrop iii 15

CHAPTER XVIII

WARS AGAINST PHILIP OF MACEDONIA —C. FLAMINIUS PROCLAIMS THE INDEPENDENCE OF GREECE.—WARS AGAINST ANTIOCHUS, THE AETOLIANS, GALATIANS, AND THE GALLS IN THE NORTH OF ITALY —DEATH OF HANNIBAL AND SCIPIO

THERE can be no doubt that Demetrius of Pharus, who at the beginning of the Hannibalian war had taken refuge at the court of Philip of Macedonia, had roused the king's apprehension of the growing power of Rome, and it was unquestionably this apprehension which led the Macedonian to enter into an alliance with the Aetolians, for the Romans, as we have seen had already gained a firm footing on the eastern coast of the Adriatic after the subjugation of the Illyrians In the spring of the year after the battle of Cannae, when Rome's power seemed to be completely broken, Philip concluded a treaty with Hannibal, in which the latter agreed to give up to the king all the possessions of the Romans east of the Adriatic But as the Macedonian ambassadors with the document of the treaty, were passing through Apulia on their way to Hannibal at Capua, they fell into the hands of the Romans who instead of being discouraged by the additional power thus acquired by their conqueror, displayed a truly heroic spirit and sent the praetor M Valerius Laevinus with a fleet of 50 sail to Tarentum whence he crossed over to Illyricum The first Macedonian war which was thus commenced in B C 215 lasted till B C 205 but it was slovenly conducted by the Romans as well as by Philip, the latter not exerting all the powers he had at his command and the former being obliged to direct their main force against Carthage

In the beginning of this war, the Romans took Oricum, and

more distinguished for their warlike and predatory spirit than for their love of peace and order. Both leagues had one object in common, the defence of Greece against the encroachments of Macedonia, but the difference of their national ties soon produced jealousy and enmity, which enabled the Romans to make use of the Aetolians against the Achæans who in their turn entered into an alliance with Macedonia. The kingdom of Pergamus in Asia Minor was then governed by Attalus I., who was an ally of Rome at the time when Rome and Macedonia were at war with each other. This state of affairs in the east rendered it possible for Rome to call forth wars in those countries whenever it suited her interests. The republic of Rhodes, whose navy, commerce, arts, and intellectual culture were in the most flourishing condition, was likewise allied with Rome, and of great service to her in her wars with the eastern powers.

of this peace The Romans, in particular, were only waiting for an opportunity of recovering that which they had given up in the peace, while Philip, on the other hand, notwithstanding the peace, secretly supported the Carthaginians in their war with Rome, both with money and with troops hence, in the battle of Zama, many Macedonians who served in the Carthaginian army were taken prisoners by the Romans Philip, about the same time, formed an alliance with king Antiochus of Syria, the object of which was to rob Egypt of her possessions on the coasts of Thrace and Asia This led to a war with the Rhodians and Attalus, whose interest it was to protect the possessions of Egypt, but Philip and Antiochus gained their end The former conquered the whole of the Thracian coast, so that his power and influence now extended from Thrace to the island of Crete Athens was at that time in a state of decay, and its inhabitants were impoverished, but it was allied with Rome Some Acarnanians had impiously presumed to violate the mysteries of Demeter at Eleusis, and being discovered were put to death by the exasperated multitude This induced the Acarnanians, and Philip their ally, to march against Athens and take vengeance for the outrage A body of Macedonians ravaged the territory of Athens, and laid siege to the city The distressed Athenians implored the protection of Rome, which thus obtained a welcome pretext for renewing the war with Philip

The senate and the ambitious nobles at Rome desired nothing so much as the renewal of hostilities the people who were suffering severely from the consequences of the Hannibalian war, rejected the scheme of a fresh military undertaking The ruling party, however, gained their object notwithstanding and the second war against Macedonia was decided upon in B C 200 for an embassy which had been sent to Philip to request him to abstain from hostilities towards Athens had no effect and the Roman people were made to believe that Philip, if he were not checked, might become a second Hannibal This war, which lasted till B C 197, broke the power of Macedonia and laid the foundation of the Roman

of this peace The Romans, in particular, were only waiting for an opportunity of recovering that which they had given up in the peace, while Philip on the other hand, notwithstanding the peace, secretly supported the Carthaginians in their war with Rome both with money and with troops Hence, in the battle of Zama, many Macedonians who served in the Carthaginian army were taken prisoners by the Romans Philip, about the same time, formed an alliance with king Antiochus of Syria, the object of which was to rob Egypt of her possessions on the coasts of Thrace and Asia This led to a war with the Rhodians and Attalus, whose interest it was to protect the possessions of Egypt, but Philip and Antiochus gained their end The former conquered the whole of the Thracian coast, so that his power and influence now extended from Thrace to the island of Crete Athens was at that time in a state of decay, and its inhabitants were impoverished but it was allied with Rome Some Acarnanians had impiously presumed to violate the mysteries of Demeter at Eleusis, and being discovered were put to death by the exasperated multitude Thus induced the Acarnanians, and Philip their ally, to march against Athens and take vengeance for the outrage A body of Macedonians ravaged the territory of Athens and laid siege to the city The distressed Athenians implored the protection of Rome which thus obtained a welcome pretext for renewing the war with Philip

The senate and the ambitious nobles at Rome desired nothing so much as the renewal of hostilities the people, who were suffering severely from the consequences of the Hannibalian war, rejected the scheme of a fresh military undertaking The ruling party however gained their object notwithstanding and the second war against Macedonia was decided upon in B C 200 for an embassy which had been sent to Philip to request him to abstain from hostilities towards Athens had no effect and the Roman people were made to believe that Philip if he were not checked might become a second Hannibal This war which lasted till B C 197, broke the power of Macedonia and laid the foundation of the Roman

dominion in the east As it had been determined to attack the enemy in his own country, the consul P. Sulpicius Galba, B C. 200, led his army across the Adriatic, and having spent the winter at Apollonia, he opened his campaign in the spring of the year following Philip, who was at the time in Asia, hastened back to Europe, defeated the Athenians, and marched into Thessaly, where he maintained himself against the Athamanians, Dardanians, and Aetolians, who had again joined the Romans and had invaded Thessaly The Romans gained little or no advantage Towards the end of the year Sulpicius Galba was succeeded by Villius Tappulus, but he too was unable to make any progress In B C 198, however, matters began to assume a different aspect, for T. Quinctius Flamininus, who was then consul, and had received the Macedonian war as his province, hastened at the beginning of the year into Greece He was then scarcely thirty three years old, but he was a skilful and vigorous commander, and a statesman who understood the art of deceiving all parties The Macedonian fortresses on the frontier were strongly fortified, and their main camp was near Antigoneia, a position which to attack was most perilous to the enemy Flamininus saw that everything was hopeless in that district, and was on the point of marching away, when an Epirot chief of the name of Charopus sent him a guide, who led a corps of 4000 Romans round a dangerous mountain pass into the rear of the Macedonians As soon as they arrived at the point of their destination, a signal was given, and the Macedonians were at once attacked both in the front and in the rear Philip, perceiving that his retreat would soon be cut off, quitted his post, and marched with his army across the mountains into Thessaly, which was invaded by the Aetolians Flamininus in the meantime penetrated further into Epirus where all the towns threw their gates open to him He then proceeded to Phocis, made himself master of Elatea, and took up his winter quarters

King Attalus, the Rhodians, and the Roman fleet, were in the Aegean sea The Achaeans had been in alliance with Philip, and

balanced The Aetolians, on the other hand, wished that Macedonia should be completely crushed, and they insisted the more strongly upon the necessity of it, because they knew that the victory over the Macedonians had been mainly owing to themselves *The unfortunate consequences resulting to the Aetolians* from this feeling became but too soon manifest The object of Rome in the war against Philip was now gained, for the Macedonians were driven out of Greece, their power was broken, and they were reduced to a state from which Rome had nothing to fear Various expectations had been entertained as to the manner in which Rome would make use of her victory in regard to Greece, but whatever may have been the motives of her policy, Flamininus, at least, seems to have acted from a sincere love and admiration of the Greeks At the Isthmian games, in B C 196, he proclaimed the freedom and independence of all the Greek cities and islands which had been under the dominion of Macedonia the multitude, intoxicated with joy, saluted him as the restorer of their freedom, and their shouts of delight and applause were so loud and so often repeated, that it was evident, that among all the blessings of human life the people valued none higher than their freedom. When the festive games were over, immense crowds gathered round their liberator, ribbons and flowers were showered upon him on all sides, and the pressure was so great that even his life was in danger

Flamininus and his army remained in Peloponnesus for some years, partly for the purpose of observing the movements of the Aetolians and of Antiochus, and partly for the purpose of regulating, in conjunction with ten Roman commissioners, the affairs of Greece Corinth was restored to the Achaeans, but the Romans kept possession of the fortresses of Acrocorinthus, Chalcis, and Demetrias until matters with Antiochus should be settled. Thessaly became an independent republic the Orestians, inhabiting a part of Macedonia, from which they had revolted received a republican constitution Euboea, Phocis, Ambracia, Phthiotis, and Athens, likewise became republics, and Elis,

Messenia, and Laconia became independent states Athens further obtained the sovereignty of Delos, Paros, and Scyros Some symptoms of the evil policy of Rome, however, appeared in the fact, that Eumenes, the son of Attalus, was left in the possession of Aegina, and also received the towns of Oreum and Eretria it was a part of the same selfish and dishonest policy which, in B C 195, after war had been decreed against Nabis the cruel tyrant of Sparta, and after Flamininus had compelled him to surrender Argos, led the Romans to conclude a peace with him, in which he was left in the possession of his dominions, in order that the Achaeans might always have an enemy in their immediate neighbourhood Greece thus could not enjoy any long and refreshing peace It cannot be denied, for the subsequent history proves it incontestably, that Rome fostered dissensions among the Greeks, in order to have opportunities of acting as arbitrator among them a Roman party also was gradually formed in many parts of Greece, which was busily engaged to further the schemes of Rome, the influence of which soon became visible throughout the country In addition to this, the Romans knew but too well that there was no reason for fearing too great an unanimity of the Greeks, or any hearty or permanent co operation of the different states In the summer of B C 194, Flamininus, having completed his regulations in Greece, returned to Rome in triumph

Antiochus had formed an alliance with Philip as early as B C 202, in consequence of which he had made himself master of the possessions of Egypt in western Asia He afterwards invaded Asia Minor, and at the time when Flamininus proclaimed the independence of Greece, it was demanded by the Romans that Antiochus too should restore freedom to all the Greek cities in Asia, but he replied that the Romans had no right to interfere in the affairs of Asia After having spent the winter at Ephesus, he advanced in B C 196 as far as the Hellespont, and took possession of the Thracian Chersonesus, which he claimed on the ground of its having been conquered by one of his ancestors He there fortified the deserted town of Lysimachia, an act

which still more provoked the jealousy of the Romans They declared to him several times that every attempt on his part to make conquests in Europe would be looked upon as an act of hostility towards Rome

While these things were going on in the east Hannibal had been obliged to quit his country in B C 196 [3] partly in consequence of the intrigues of Rome and partly through the hostility of the party opposed to him and his family which he had exasperated by the abolition of a number of abuses in the administration of his country He had introduced a series of salutary reforms by which he had hoped to restore Carthage to strength and vigour, but his plans were thwarted and he now took refuge in the kingdom of Antiochus whom he hoped to inspire with courage to carry on the war against Rome with vigour and energy and for that purpose to enter into an alliance with Egypt and Macedonia. It was fortunate for Rome that Antiochus was not able to appreciate the advice which the great Carthaginian gave him and was even led to suspect his honesty These circumstances and the fact that the Romans were at that time engaged in Spain and against the Boians and Insubrians in the north of Italy delayed the outbreak of the war for some years In B C 193 the Aetolians dissatisfied in the highest degree with the results of the war of the Romans against Philip and being disappointed in their hope of the rewards which they thought they had a right to expect [4] invited Antiochus to come over into Greece They thought that with the assistance of a king whose empire extended from the Hellespont to the frontiers of India, no power would be able to resist them. Antiochus himself was a haughty and presumptuous man who by no means deserves the surname of the Great with which history has honoured him and his empire though immense in extent was as weak as that of the Persians had been of old. The Greek colonies in Asia also had become effeminate and unwarlike

[3] Corn Nep. *Hannib* 7 Livy xxxiii. 45 places the flight of Hannibal one year later

[4] Polyb xviii. 38

were they chased from their position by the legate M Porcius Cato, than the whole army of Antiochus took to flight The king made for Chalcis, where he had spent the preceding winter in sensual pleasures But he soon quitted that place also, and returned to Asia Minor, where he gave orders for a general levy throughout his vast empire

In consequence of the failure at Thermopylae, the Aetolians were obliged to sue for peace, which was willingly granted them by the Romans, because they were anxious to secure themselves in their rear, that they might be able to prosecute the war against Antiochus in Asia without being disturbed by the hostilities of the Aetolians Philip was accordingly ordered to abstain from hostilities against them, in order that he too might have no pretext for extending his influence or dominion in Greece He, therefore, returned to Macedonia, and not taking any part in the war against Antiochus, he made some conquests in Athamania and in the country of the Dolopians

Antiochus thought himself perfectly safe in Asia, and it was only on the suggestion of Hannibal that he kept possession of the Thracian Chersonesus A Roman fleet, about half of which was furnished by the Rhodians, was cruising in the meantime in the Aegean. Hannibal was intrusted with the command of a Phoenician fleet, but was unable to join that of Antiochus, which was commanded by Polyxenidas The Romans, who were further assisted by king Eumenes of Pergamus, gained a victory over the fleet of Antiochus, and destroyed nearly the whole of it Antiochus, who was thrown into the utmost consternation by this defeat, gave up the Chersonesus, and the fortresses of Lysimachia, Sestos, and Abydos, with all the ammunition and provisions which they contained, and retreated to Sardes, where he spent the winter The Roman consuls of the year B C 190 were L. Cornelius Scipio and C Laelius The former, a brother of the conqueror of Hannibal, though having as yet given little proof of any extraordinary talent, obtained the command against Antiochus through the influence of his brother, who, in order to make up

for the deficiency of Lucius accompanied him to Asia in the subordinate capacity of legate The Scipios arrived in Asia with an army of about 20,000 men, while that of Antiochus consisted of 70,000 no sooner had they landed, than they were met by the ambassadors of the king to sue for peace, but as the haughty Syrian refused to accept the terms proposed by Scipio, the matter was left to the decision of a battle, which was fought in the neighbourhood of Magnesia, at the foot of Mount Sipylus The motley host of Antiochus notwithstanding his elephants and the Macedonian phalanx, was unable to resist the Roman legions, and the latter gained a decisive victory They were commanded by L Scipio alone, either because his brother was ill or because he would not take part in the contest and Lucius thus gained for himself the honourable surname of Asiaticus Antiochus fled to Syria, and sent ambassadors to the Roman consul to sue for peace, which was granted to him on the following terms, which, however, were not ratified at Rome till the year B C 188 Antiochus was to give up to Rome all his dominions in Asia Minor west of Mount Taurus, to abstain from interfering with the affairs of the Roman allies in Europe, to give up all his ships of war and keep no more than ten merchant vessels to keep no elephants, to raise no mercenaries in any of the countries allied with Rome to pay down 2500 talents at once and afterwards 12,000 more by instalments of 1000 a year, to deliver up Hannibal, Thoas and other enemies of Rome who had taken refuge in his dominions and lastly to give his younger son Antiochus as a hostage to the Romans All conditions were complied with, but Hannibal escaped and continued for some years longer to be Rome's formidable enemy When the king had consented to these terms L Scipio took his winter quarters at Magnesia on the Maeander

The power of the Syrian empire was thus broken for ever it was weakened not only by the loss of the countries which it had been obliged to give up to Rome, but by the relation of dependence into which it entered with Rome, for just as Carthage

had an ever watchful and treacherous neighbour in Masinissa, so Antiochus was under the vigilant eye of Eumenes of Pergamus and the Rhodians, both of whom were ever ready to further the ambitious ends of Rome. Eumenes was rewarded for the services he had rendered to Rome with the Thracian Chersonesus, Phrygia Major, Lydia, Lycaonia, and the towns of Ephesus, Tralles and Telmessus; a few of the Greek cities on the coast of Asia Minor were honoured with immunities and an increase of their territories; and the Rhodians received Lycia and Caria as far as the river Maeander.[6] As yet the Romans would rather give away kingdoms than rule over them; they were satisfied with the feeling that they were the conquerors and that they had fought (for such was their vaunting pretence) for the independence of their allies and of the Greeks. In B.C. 189, the year after the conclusion of the peace, the consul Cn. Manlius Vulso succeeded Scipio in Asia, while his colleague M. Fulvius went into Aetolia, for in the western parts of the empire peace was pretty well restored. The Aetolians endeavoured to make amends for their conduct; but it was in vain that they reminded Rome of the services which they had done to her in former times; for it was not till they had sent three different embassies that peace was granted them, at the time when M. Fulvius was besieging Ambracia. The Romans were then prevailed upon by the mediation of the Rhodians, and especially by the eloquence of the Athenian Leon. The terms of the peace were as follows: the Aetolians recognised the majesty of the Roman people; they were to regard the enemies of Rome as their own; they were not to allow an army of any enemy of the Roman allies to pass through their country; and they were to pay down at once 200 talents, and 300 more by instalments of 50 every year.

While M. Fulvius was thus engaged in Aetolia, his colleague Manlius Vulso, anxious to do something from which he might derive fame and wealth for himself, made a campaign against the Galatians in Phrygia, where those Gallic tribes had been settled

[6] Liv. xxxviii. 37, &c. Polyb. *Excerpt. de Leg.* xxiv.

for nearly a century, a part of which country bore the name of Galatia, or Gallo Graecia During the period of their settlement in Asia, these Gauls had amassed immense wealth, and had almost become Hellenized, though they still remained very warlike In alliance with Antiochus, they had attacked Eumenes, and even after the peace of Rome with Antiochus, they continued their hostilities The war which Manlius Vulso carried on against them inflicted great sufferings upon the inhabitants of Asia Minor After a severe defeat which the Galatians sustained near Mount Olympus, in Mysia, they were chased by their conquerors as far as the river Halys They then sued for peace, which they obtained, on condition of their abstaining from their predatory excursions, and keeping quiet within their own territory From this time forward the Galatians lived in perfect submission to Rome Ariarathes, king of Cappadocia, who likewise dreaded an attack of the Romans, sent the sum of 200 talents along with his request for peace, thus purchasing a peace which he could not otherwise have obtained at so cheap a price

While the Romans had thus been extending their power to the east with gigantic strides, the peace had been disturbed in the north of Italy by the Ligurians, Insubrians, and Boians, who had been stirred up by a Carthaginian of the name of Hamilcar The war against them began as early as B C 200, and lasted for many years, but its history is very obscure Many a small but bloody battle was fought, for the Ligurian tribes although poor, defended themselves with such determination that the Romans had no choice but were obliged either to extirpate them or expel them from their mountains The Romans gained many a victory, and many a triumph was celebrated, but it was not till B C 181 that the consuls, P Cornelius Cethegus and M Baebius Tamphilus, who marched against the Ligurians with an army of 50,000 men, compelled them to submit to Rome, when a portion of them the Apuanian Ligurians, with their wives and children, were transplanted to Samnium In the course of this war the colonies of Placentia and Cremona were entirely destroyed, and

the towns which had been inhabited by the Boians experienced a similar fate so that in after times scarcely their sites were known. The whole people of the Boians seem to have been extirpated and their country was henceforth occupied by the colonies of Bononia, Modena, Parma Lucca, and others

After the brilliant campaign of P Scipio in Spain, the departure of Mago and the surrender of Gades in B C 205, the dominion of Rome seemed to be finally established in Spain The Romans kept a standing army there, which usually consisted of two legions for the purpose of securing the submission of the Spaniards attempts to shake off the Roman dominion being repeatedly made from time to time Indibilis a chief of the Ilergetes and one of the most powerful men in Spain who had before been in alliance with the Romans revolted in B C 205 immediately after the departure of Scipio but the insurgent was defeated in a pitched battle and peace was restored for a time. Afterwards when the Romans were engaged against the Ligurians and Macedonians that is, after B C 197 the state of affairs in Spain again became unsettled, until order was again restored by the consul M. Porcius Cato in B C 195, who won the hearts and confidence of the Spaniards by the justice with which he acted towards them what he gained by his humanity and justice he also secured by his deep cunning Most of the Spanish towns were strongly fortified and Cato is said to have sent circulars to the magistrates of a large number of towns with orders not to open them before a certain day fixed upon by him Each circular contained the command to raze to the ground the walls of the town to which it had been addressed, and threatened the disobedient with the severest punishments As there was no time for the towns to communicate with each other and as each believed itself to be the only one that had received the command, all obeyed, and when they learned the truth it was too late for the work of destruction was done[6] Henceforth the Spaniards continued to live in peace, until they were provoked by the

[6] Liv xxxiv 17 Appian *De Reb. Hisp* 41

faithlessness cruelty, and avarice of their Roman governors In B C 181 a great war again broke out, in which the Spaniards were joined by the Celtiberians, but though the Romans gained several victories still the Spaniards were never completely reduced, till in B C 179, Tib Sempronius Gracchus, the father of the two great tribunes concluded treaties of peace with several of the Spanish tribes the terms of which were so honourable and fair, that the people, with the greatest willingness, laid down their arms With that kindness and humanity which form so striking a feature in the character of the family of the Gracchi, he gave settlements and homes to the poor among the Spaniards, and conferred such substantial benefits upon them that for many years his name was remembered among them with the highest gratitude

The establishment of a Roman colony at Aquileia in Istria, provoked the Istrians to a desperate resistance They dreaded the loss of their independence, and a war with them broke out in B C 178, however, it did not last much longer than one year, for after three of their towns were destroyed and their king had fallen they submitted to Rome in B C 177 About the same time Sardinia and Corsica revolted and showed a desperate determination not to yield, but the Sardinians were subdued by Tib Sempronius Gracchus and the immense number of prisoners that were sold as slaves is said to have given rise to the proverbial expression *Sardi venales*

After the peace with Antiochus Hannibal had escaped to Prusias king of Bithynia a cunning and greedy but cowardly prince, who was then at war with Eumenes, and whom Hannibal endeavoured to stir up to energetic measures The Romans well knew that, so long as Hannibal was alive it was in vain to hope for peace in the east, when, therefore, his influence became known at Rome, ambassadors were sent into Asia, and among them C Flamininus to demand of Prusias his surrender The timid king indeed refused to deliver him up, but told the ambassadors where they might seize him When the Romans

had surrounded his house, and he saw that escape was impossible, he took poison, which he had carried about him for some time, for he foresaw what would be his fate Thus died one of the greatest men of all ages, B C 183[7]

His conqueror P Cornelius Scipio Africanus, died about the same time He was accused, in B C 187, by M. Porcius Cato, who hated the whole family of the Scipios because they were fond of Greek manners and the Greek mode of living, of having embezzled part of the money which had been paid by king Antiochus, and he was called upon before the senate to answer the charge, and state why he had not rendered an account of the money that had been taken in the war against the Syrian king. The day on which he was called upon to do this was the anniversary of the battle of Zama Scipio summoned the people to the Capitol, to offer thanks to Jupiter, and said that the day was ill suited for litigation The multitude joyfully accompanied him, and his accusers afterwards did not renew their attacks But Scipio soon after left Rome, and died in his villa at Liternum, perhaps in the same year in which Hannibal died.[8] The people for many generations believed that his spirit had soared up to the abodes of the gods, and that a serpent of supernatural size guarded the access to his tomb which was shaded by a myrtle His brother Lucius was involved in the same charge which had been brought against Publius Lucius had been willing to defend himself by producing his account books, but Publius snatched them from his hands, declaring that it was improper to annoy a man for a trifling sum who had conferred such benefits on the state Notwithstanding Lucius was condemned, and his property confiscated. He bore his misfortune with truly Roman greatness and resignation His innocence was afterwards established, and prosperity seemed once more to dawn upon him

[7] The year of his death however is uncertain, for some of the ancients placed it one or two years later See Corn. Nep. *Hannib* 13 Liv xxxix. 56, comp. with 51

[8] Some place Scipio's death in B.C 185, others in B.C. 187, and others again in B.C 183. See Liv xxxix. 52 comp. xxxviii. 50 &c. Cic. *De Senect.* 6

but he did not live to enjoy it long for he died in B C 185 Two of the greatest Romans thus disappeared from the stage of history about the same time the influence they had exercised upon their age was great for evil as well as for good although the former did not show its fruits immediately It is now time to cast a glance at the state of morality among the Romans and at their progress in arts and literature

CHAPTER XIX

MORALITY AND MANNERS OF THE ROMANS.—THE ARTS AND LITERATURE.

It is a general belief both among ancient and modern writers that after the victories over Macedonia and Antiochus the love of luxuries and all the vices that accompany avarice and rapacity broke in upon the Romans with irresistible force. The fact that at this time these vices began to manifest themselves in all their hideousness is indeed true enough; but those victories were not the cause of the evil; they only afforded a favourable opportunity for developing that of which the causes lay much deeper. One of the main causes was the general demoralisation which had been brought about by the almost uninterrupted, cruel, and destructive wars. The poor had become utterly impoverished; a middle class scarcely existed at all; and the wealthy had amassed enormous riches, the spoils of conquered nations. We may form a notion of the treasures conveyed to Rome from the fact that L. Cornelius Scipio could speak of the sum of 36,000*l.* which he was charged with having appropriated to himself as a trifle.[1] The enormous wealth which some of the Romans had acquired suddenly and without much labour and toil, produced the same effects among them that money generally produces with persons who unexpectedly become rich without being previously accustomed to the uses of money. The enjoyments accordingly which the Romans now sought, and in which they attempted to imitate their Greek neighbours, were of a coarse and vulgar kind; the ancient simplicity and frugality in their mode of

[1] Liv. xxxviii. 55; Gellius, iii. 19; Diodor. *Fragm. Vat.* c. 8, ed. Dindorf.

living were abandoned, and they gave themselves up to disgusting gluttony and debauchery A slave, who was a good cook, now fetched a higher price in the market than any other slave.[2] Splendid buildings began to be erected, and luxuries of every description found their way into Rome, supplanting the rustic simplicity of former times As early as B C 215, the tribune C Oppius had found it necessary to restrain the extravagant luxuries of the Roman women of rank by an enactment forbidding any woman to have more than half an ounce of gold to wear *any gay coloured dress, to ride either at Rome or in any other* town and its immediate vicinity in a carriage drawn by two horses except on great religious occasions[3] Twenty years later in B C 195, the women became very clamorous about this law, and demanded its repeal it was in vain that Cato, then consul in a speech addressed to the people endeavoured to convince them of the salutary nature of the law, its abolition was at once effected by the exertions of the women A general licentiousness and moral depravity especially among females became still more manifest about nine years later when it was discovered that the orgies of Bacchus had been introduced into Rome from southern Italy and were celebrated at night with the grossest violations of all decorum and morality A strict inquiry was made into the matter the guilty were punished, and a decree of the senate under the severest penalties forbade the solemnisation of these orgies both at Rome and in all Italy[4] Another example of the morality of these times was exhibited in B C 192 by the consul L Quinctius Flamininus the brother of the conqueror of Macedonia While he was encamped in Cisalpine Gaul he had with him a Carthaginian youth to whom he had become attached in a most unnatural manner and who often lamented that he had never seen a gladiatorial exhibition Flamininus soon found an

[2] L v xxxix 6

[3] L v xxxiv 1

[4] L v xxxv 18 Valer Max m vi 3 sec 7 A brazen table containing the decree of the senate was discovered in 1640 at Bari in southern Italy and is at present preserved in the imperial museum of Vienna

opportunity of gratifying the brutal curiosity of the youth for one day, while they were feasting in their tent, there came a noble Boian, who with his children took refuge in the consul's camp Flamininus asked his contemptible favourite, whether he would like to see a Gaul dying and scarcely had the youth answered in the affirmative, when Flamininus struck the Boian's head with his sword When the unfortunate man staggered out of the tent to implore the mercy of others Flamininus ran him through with his sword No notice was taken of the occurrence, until the year B C 184 when Cato, in his censorship most unsparingly attacked Flamininus for his brutal conduct on this and other occasions, and ejected him from the senate It must not, however, be supposed that such moral depravity was as yet very general, for the cases which we have noticed are rather symptoms of that which was quietly developing itself, than types of the general character of the age, since even fifty years later Polybius saw so much that was excellent in the character of the Romans that he placed them far above his own countrymen Nevertheless, embezzlement of the public money, extortions in the provinces and acts of wanton violence, now began to be of common occurrence

Cato was at this time a singular phenomenon he was a true representative of the good old times It was then customary for Romans of rank and education to derive their manners and literary tastes from the Greeks, but Cato formed an exception to this rule for he despised the Greeks as a corrupt and effeminate race and it was not till he had far advanced in years that he made himself acquainted with their language and literature He displayed the greatest activity in all departments of life both public and private and there is scarcely one in which he was not great But all his exertions to stop the current of corruption and to restore the times of which he himself was a living example were useless as all isolated attempts under similar circumstances necessarily are It has been supposed that his conduct was in a great measure mere affectation, but there is

no evidence for such an opinion he was an ancient Roman in the fullest sense of the word, bent upon seeing the sovereignty of his country established everywhere, and his somewhat rough and uncouth manners formed a strange contrast with the foreign customs adopted by his contemporaries

With regard to religion, superstition of a very gross kind continued to form one of the principal features in the character of the Romans, though it was at one time more prominent than at others Even human sacrifices were not entirely abolished The auguries and auspices, a welcome leading string for the people in the hands of the high magistrates of the republic, continued to be observed as before, and exercised the greatest influence upon all public affairs, but the ancient piety and the reverence for the gods gradually disappeared, and the sacrifices and festivals, which had formerly been celebrated in honour of the gods with rustic simplicity, now served more as amusements and shows for the multitude, which became the more pompous as the people became more and more accustomed to splendour and magnificence The higher and educated class began to show symptoms of scepticism, and a disbelief in the efficacy of the religious rites, and from this time we not unfrequently meet with instances of an open disregard of the ordinances of religion The Greek worship had gradually become established at Rome as in the rest of Italy, and the ancient gods of the land were forgotten, or identified with those recently imported

There is good reason for believing that the Romans, and Italians generally, were acquainted with the arts and literature of the Greeks, long before any conquests had been made beyond the Adriatic This is evident from the works of art that have been and are still discovered in Umbria and Etruria, and from the remains of theatres, such as that of Tusculum, which was probably built long before the second Punic war, and which presupposes the performance of dramas either of Greek or Italian growth But the first symptoms of the dawn of a Latin literature did not appear until the close of the first Punic war The first produc-

tions were almost servile translations or imitations of Greek models A national literature, such as might be considered the spontaneous and peculiar growth of the Roman mind, was never developed at Rome, the elements, indeed, existed, but they were not permitted to grow by reason of the predominant influence which Greek literature acquired among the Romans The ancient Roman poetry, of which only a faint echo has reached our times and its old fashioned Saturnian metre, fell into oblivion from the time that Q Ennius (born in B C 239) introduced the Greek hexameter into Latium. The influence exerted by the example of Ennius was supported by the strong predilection which all the illustrious Romans as for example the Scipios, had for everything Greek, and which the patriotic spirit of a Cato, who looked upon this foreign influence as dangerous both to public and private virtue was unable to check in its rapid increase A new channel was thus opened for poetry among the Romans and the ancient one was abandoned and forgotten.

The earliest Latin poet that we meet with is Livius Andronicus He is said to have been a native of Tarentum, who was carried to Rome as a slave, but was afterwards emancipated. He made an abridgment of the Homeric Odyssey in the Saturnian metre, and composed tragedies which, like the Atellanae or ancient national comedies of the Italians were performed on scaffoldings in the Circus These dramas, however were imitations of Greek models, the first of which was produced at Rome in B C 240[1] Cn Naevius who served in the first Punic war and seems to have been a poet of great talent, wrote comedies and tragedies of a similar kind as well as in the ancient metre a poem on the first Punic war[2] He died in B C 203 in exile at Utica, because he had offended some Roman nobles especially the family of the Metelli Q. Ennius, who was born at Rudiae near Tarentum in B C 239, wrote tragedies and comedies and in hexameter verse a work called Annales, in which he related the events of Roman

[1] Cicero, *Brut.* 18 *De Senect.* 14 Gellius, xvii. 21

[2] Gellius *l. c.*, v. 1[2]

[3] Cicero *Brut* 15.

history from the earliest times, but more particularly the war against Hannibal which for this reason occupied the greater part of the poem He was a Roman citizen, and lived on terms of intimacy with the most distinguished men of his time M Accius Plautus, born at Sarsinae in Umbria in B C 227, gained the greatest eminence as a comic poet and actor his twenty plays, still extant, are free imitations of the Greek comic writers, they abound in wit, his characters are drawn in a masterly manner and the plot is always managed with the greatest skill and cleverness Plautus has often been undervalued, but a sound and unbiassed critical examination has shown and ever will show, that he was one of the few real poetical geniuses of whom Rome can boast M Pacuvius, a nephew of Ennius, was born at Tarentum, in B C 221 he likewise distinguished himself in dramatic poetry, in which he took Aeschylus and Sophocles for his models Terentius, who was born in B C 195, and whose most active period accordingly belongs to a somewhat later time than that of which we are now speaking was a worthy successor of Plautus He is said to have been a Carthaginian slave, but to have been restored to freedom by his Roman master It is certain that he became the intimate friend of P Cornelius Scipio the younger, and of C Laelius, and that he produced a number of comedies which though inferior to those of Plautus in wit and originality, are refined and tasteful imitations of the works of Menander and other Greek poets If to these names we add those of other poets whose productions may have been of less merit but are now lost, such as Caecilius Statius, Afranius, L Attius and L Pomponius, it must be owned that during the period after the first Punic war, poetry, and more especially the drama, was at Rome thriving most luxuriantly, while in Greece real poetry was dying fast away But these splendid beginnings did not lead to any great results for the Romans, generally speaking, remained mere imitators of the Greeks, and their ordinary pursuits of war led them to admire more the gladiatorial games of the Circus than the sublime conceptions of

the dramatic muse, whence tragedy never acquired any popularity among the Romans.

The earliest Latin prose writers were chroniclers or annalists, who related the history of their country, from year to year, with little regard to any internal connection among the events, and probably with still less attention to beauty of style in their narrations. The first we meet with is Q. Fabius Pictor, a Roman senator, who distinguished himself, in B.C. 225, in the war against the Gauls, and was sent as ambassador to Delphi in the second Punic war. He is frequently censured by Polybius for his partiality towards his native country. Many of his successors, such as L. Cincius Alimentus, Numerius Fabius Pictor, Albinus, Cn. Aufidius, wrote their annals in the Greek language, probably with the view of rendering them intelligible to the Greeks, and proving to them that the history of Rome was not unworthy of their attention. The first who raised the art of writing history to something like the dignity which it ought to occupy, was the indefatigable M. Cato, who wrote a work entitled "Origines," containing a history of Rome and Italy, in which he gave an account of the origin of the various cities of Italy. It carried the history down to the year B.C. 150. This work, with those of the earlier chroniclers, unfortunately is lost; and all that has come down to us of them consists of a few isolated fragments.

The cultivation of public oratory is inseparably connected with a free government: it was therefore practised at Rome from very early times; but the science of the art did not keep pace with its practical application to the purposes of public life, since it was to Greek rhetoricians that the Romans applied for the principles of the art. These Greek rhetoricians were very popular at Rome notwithstanding their being regarded by the government, and by a few men of the old school, as persons who corrupted the virtues of the stern Romans. The same class of foreigners also gave the Romans a taste for philosophical speculation; and when, in B.C. 155, the Athenians sent an embassy to Rome, consisting of the three philosophers, Carneades, Diogenes, and Critolaus, their

influence became so great with the young Roman nobles, that Cato carried a decree ordering them forthwith to quit the city But their removal could not prevent the study of philosophy, and the doctrines of the Stoics gradually acquired a considerable influence among the best men of the republic, while those of the Epicureans found zealous advocates among persons of rank and wealth

Legal knowledge and skill form one of the characteristics of the Romans, from the earliest down to the latest times Jurisprudence was cultivated by all their statesmen, in connection with their offices in the state, the duties of which they could not have discharged without an accurate knowledge of legal and constitutional affairs, and every Roman youth of education learned the laws of the twelve tables, the groundwork of the whole Roman law, by heart The medical art seems to have been originally confined to surgery, and the practices of the priests of Aesculapius, but in B C 219, the Greek physician, Archagathus, came to Rome and there established the first medical shop (*medicina*), with baths and wards, to which the sick resorted for the purchase of their medicines [8] The shops of the physicians, like those of the barbers, were the common resort for loungers of every description, who there assembled and talked over the news of the day Astronomy had been studied chiefly for superstitious purposes, but the most remarkable phenomena in the heavens seem to have been recorded from early times The most ancient account of an eclipse of the moon being predicted with accuracy occurs in the year B C 168, just before the battle of Pydna It was foretold by C Sulpicius Gallus a man very familiar with Greek learning and literature, who announced it in order that the soldiers might not be frightened by its occurrence

The love of works of art had by this time greatly increased among the Romans but Rome, nevertheless, cannot boast of having ever produced an artist that could be mentioned along with any of the great masters in Greece, except, perhaps, in the

[8] Plin *Hist Nat* xxix 6

department of architecture As Roman painters of some celebrity, we may mention Fabius Pictor, and the poet Pacuvius The fondness for the arts among the Romans was chiefly displayed in their carrying to Rome and to their villas whatever they could collect in the conquered countries, which they deprived, not only of their freedom, but also of their ornaments When we trace these robberies, in which the most splendid productions of Grecian art were dragged to Rome from Sicily, Greece, and Asia Minor, and then remember the barbarous conduct of some of the Roman conquerors, who, far from having any sense or appreciation of the precious treasures they were amassing, treated them in a manner worthy only of barbarians, and mistook a tasteless pomp and gorgeous display for taste and refinement, we may indeed wonder at the overwhelming power of Rome, before which every other human power was obliged to bow, but we cannot help lamenting the fate of the nations that had to bear the yoke of such rulers, and we can console ourselves only by the thought, that without Rome's intervention, still fewer remnants of ancient art would have reached our time, and that this was the chosen way of Providence, through which a better state of things was gradually prepared.

The Romans never were a commercial nation, but as their population and dominion, and, along with them, their wants and luxuries also increased, the number of merchants and the extent of their transactions must have increased in proportion In the earliest times all commerce and trade had been left to the clients, slaves, and foreigners, as such occupations were thought degrading to a Roman citizen, but about the time of the second Punic war, and afterwards persons even of the highest rank more especially the equites, did not scruple to engage in extensive commercial enterprises The equites were for the most part, wealthy capitalists, and these persons carried on usury in the provinces, where their profits were much larger than at Rome, because the rate of interest in the former was not regulated by any law in like manner they purchased corn in distant countries and carried it to

Rome, where they sold it often at a very high price. Even Cato, who was otherwise a zealous upholder of the ancient Roman manners, is said to have carried on a lucrative trade in well trained slaves. But, notwithstanding all this trade, and more especially all retail trade, continued to be looked upon as unworthy of a Roman and remained, on the whole, in the hands of the lower classes, especially foreigners and slaves.

Agriculture, which had been the foundation of Rome's greatness, remained for a long time the only honourable occupation of free-born Romans, but by and by they were taught by their foreign conquests that it was easier to enrich themselves by the plunder of war than by toil and labour in the field. Hence the ancient pursuits were gradually abandoned to slaves, who now cultivated the extensive estates of their masters, and rendered it impossible for the small landowners who had been a most useful and respectable body of men to compete with them. This change in the mode of life was also one of the principal causes of the decline and corruption of the ancient manners, which ever since the time of the first Punic war had become more and more depraved. The many laws that were enacted after that war, for the purpose of enforcing a better moral conduct are a sufficient proof that corruption was spreading even if there were no other evidence. The manners of the people indeed became, in some measure polished and refined by their intercourse with the Greeks; but that refinement was a mere outward tinsel since in spirit the Romans became more barbarous, greedy and cruel by the succession of prosperous wars. At home the same spirit was fostered by the frequent gladiatorial exhibitions, which after being introduced in B.C. 264 rapidly increased in popularity, and became an ordinary amusement at the burial of wealthy persons even of women. Such funeral games were usually combined with feasting the people, a distribution of meat or corn being made among them.[1] The new refinement manifested itself chiefly in the effeminacy of private life, in the indulgence in Greek and

[1] Liv. xli. 28.

Asiatic luxuries, in costliness of dresses, in the number and quality of slaves in precious furniture and the luxuries of the table all which the Romans indulged in as much as barbarians usually do when once they become acquainted with the manners of civilised life On the other hand avarice and prodigality, and cruelty towards conquered nations and slaves, increased no less among private persons than in the government and yet Livy says[10] that all this was scarcely the first symptom of the future corruption

[10] xxxix. 6

CHAPTER XV

WARS AGAINST PERSEUS OF MACEDONIA AND GENTHIUS, KING OF ILLYRICUM —AEMILIUS PAULUS IN GREECE AND EPIRUS —ROME'S CONDUCT TOWARDS EGYPT AND RHODES, AND HER RELATION TO OTHER STATES. — EVENTS DOWN TO THE BREAKING OUT OF THE THIRD PUNIC WAR.

In the meantime things had been going on in Greece which again brought Rome and Macedonia into hostile collision As long as the Romans were engaged against Antiochus, and in want of assistance, they treated Philip of Macedonia with apparent liberality, though in fact they never trusted him, and he, on the other hand, being well aware of the nature of Roman policy, made great exertions to revive and increase the power of his kingdom He was the more active in this respect, as he did not derive from the Syrian war those advantages which he had expected In Thessaly and Athamania he made some conquests, and he increased his army beyond what was permitted him by the terms of his peace with Rome The Romans at first connived at these proceedings, but at the same time contrived in secret to prepare the way for his destruction The Greek cities in Thrace, of which also Philip had made himself master, and the timid Eumenes of Pergamus, sent embassies to Rome to complain of the king's conduct Their appearance was very welcome to the Romans, and commissioners were forthwith sent out to inquire into the proceedings of Philip They treated him in a very humiliating manner, and ordered him to evacuate all the places beyond the ancient boundaries of his kingdom [1] Philip, exasperated at this command, told the Romans, that as justice could not be

[1] Liv xxix 23, &c , Polyb xxii. 4

obtained from them he should be obliged to seek it by other means The Roman senate now openly and gladly listened to any charges that were brought against the king, whom they regarded as an obstinate horse that must be compelled by severer means than the bit But in order to avert the danger which threatened to burst upon him before he was sufficiently prepared, Philip sent to Rome his younger son, Demetrius, a noble youth of very captivating manners, to effect a peaceable settlement of the disputes Demetrius gained his end, but the Romans treacherously availed themselves of his presence to create jealousy, envy, and hostility, between him and his elder brother Perseus, who was the son of Philip by a concubine Perseus, a man of an angry and mistrustful disposition, was, by the distinctions and favours shown to his brother, easily roused to bring calumnious accusations against him before his father The latter was reluctantly prevailed upon to get rid of Demetrius, who was accordingly poisoned at Heraclea Three years after, in B C 179, the deceived Philip, weighed down by his grief, died, about 60 years old, and his kingdom, stronger and more powerful than it had been for a long time, passed into the hands of Perseus

The Roman senate recognised him as king and renewed with him the treaty which had been concluded with his father But Perseus hated the Romans as cordially as his father did In talent he was much inferior to him his besetting sin was avarice, and it was the love of money that ultimately brought about his ruin This vice at first did not appear in his character, for he was even liberal and generous, and thereby succeeded in forming connections against the common enemy in Illyricum, Thrace, Syria, Bithynia, Epirus, and Thessaly He moreover negotiated with Carthage, and intended to carry out a plan of his father's, to induce the Bastarnae, a barbarous nation on the banks of the Danube, to invade Italy Some of these connections were cemented by marriages, for Perseus himself married a daughter of Antiochus Epiphanes, and Prusias of Bithynia married a sister of Perseus The Greeks also began to look upon him as the man

who was able to restore the Macedonian empire, and they were ready to assist him, if he would endeavour to drive the Romans from the countries east of the Adriatic, though as yet few ventured openly to declare for him, because their cities were closely watched by Roman emissaries, and, because in many places such as Rhodes, the Roman party was more powerful than their adversaries As Perseus was not allowed to keep a fleet, he made preparations for abandoning his maritime towns, and devoted all his attention to the increase of his finances, the strengthening of his land forces, and the filling of his arsenals with ammunition If, with all his resources, Perseus had known how to keep the friends he had gained, and if he had been able to part with the money which he had promised as subsidies to his allies, he might have succeeded for a long time in resisting the power of Rome But this he could not, and his fall was the consequence

Eumenes had in the meantime, become alarmed by the growing power of Macedonia, and in B C 172 he went to Rome to direct the attention of the senate to the cause of his apprehension while a Rhodian embassy endeavoured to represent Eumenes himself as aiming at the supremacy of all Asia On his returning from Rome an attack was made on his life in the neighbourhood of Delphi As he was passing on a narrow foot path along a precipice, some hidden persons rolled huge blocks of stone upon him from above He was thrown down the precipice, and picked up almost lifeless but he recovered and returned to Asia by way of Corinth[2] Perseus was suspected of having been the instigator of the attempt, but on being called upon to deliver up certain persons who enjoyed his especial favour and were believed to be concerned in the affair, he not only asserted his innocence but refused to surrender his friends These circumstances accelerated the outbreak of the war with Rome, which Perseus himself declared in B C 171 The Romans were taken by surprise, from not being sufficiently prepared but still the opportunity of overthrowing Macedonia and of putting the countries east of the

[2] Liv xlii 15, Appian *De Reb Macd* p 521, ed Schweigh

Adriatic on an entirely different footing, was highly welcome to them The consul, P Lucinius Crassus, met Perseus and his army in Thessaly The king showed great resolution, and refused the absolute submission which the consul demanded, for he relied upon the Greeks, nearly all of whom supported him, and were full of confidence in his success Their insolence towards the Romans in which they indulged on every occasion, was severely punished, for many of the Greek maritime towns were destroyed, and their inhabitants sold as slaves Rome's anticipations of this war, however, were not realised, for instead of being able to put an end to it, as they had confidently hoped, by a single campaign, they found it protracted, and Perseus even gained some advantages over them he might, in fact, have crushed them if he had been more active and circumspect Eumenes seems to have despaired of the success of the Romans for he entered into negotiations with Macedonia. The Bastarnae had already set out on their expedition against Italy Under these circumstances the Romans found it necessary to take more energetic measures, for the people began to be impatient of the protracted war In B C 168, the aged L Aemilius Paulus was raised to the consulship, and he, along with the praetor Cn Octavius set out without delay for his province of Macedonia On the 22d of June the decisive battle was fought, near Pydna, which at once put an end to the kingdom of Macedonia. The contest was decided in a single hour the infantry was cut to pieces, and the cavalry dispersed.

The defeated king, having lost all confidence fled to the island of Samothrace, to seek an asylum in its inviolable sanctuary, but being overtaken by the praetor, Cn Octavius, he surrendered The unhappy king and his son afterwards adorned the triumph of Aemilius Paulus Perseus died at Alba, where he was kept as a state prisoner, and his son is said to have earned his bread by practising the art of turning L Aemilius Paulus made a most cruel use of his victory Macedonia was plundered, and ten Roman commissioners were sent into the country to settle its

affairs It was declared free under the protectorate of Rome, but the terms were so hard, that this mock freedom ground down the people more effectually than slavery The country was cut up into four districts, and the inhabitants of one were not allowed to marry into another, or to acquire property there, the gold and silver mines which had been worked vigorously ever since the time of Philip were abandoned, and the people were prohibited from felling timber to build ships, so that the country gradually sank into a state of poverty and helplessness Half the tribute which had hitherto been paid to the kings was henceforth paid to Rome

Genthius, of Illyricum had provoked the Romans even before the outbreak of the war with Perseus by the piracy which his subjects carried on in the Adriatic, but his alliance with Macedonia decided the outbreak of the third Illyrian war, especially as he had thrown into chains two Roman ambassadors whom he had taken prisoners in that part of Illyricum which was subject to Rome The praetor, L Anicius undertook the command against him, and within thirty days the war was brought to a close The country was cut up into three cantons, and governed in a similar manner with Macedonia

The cruelty of M Aemilius Paulus who is usually described as one of the noblest characters in Roman history became manifest immediately after his victory over Perseus From Macedonia he marched southward to settle the affairs of Greece Everywhere the party which espoused the cause of Rome received military reinforcements to crush their opponents The Achaean league was required to pass a decree that all who had supported Perseus should be put to death The Achaeans reasonably demanded that the Romans should name the offenders but this was refused and the Romans insisted upon their demand at length they condescended to make out a list of upwards of 1000 of the most illustrious Achaeans who were to quit their country and to proceed to Italy, where their cause was to be tried One of these unfortunate men was Polybius the historian, who,

however by his talent and knowledge gained the friendship of the most distinguished Romans and was thus placed in more favourable circumstances than his countrymen On their arrival in Italy they were not tried as they had hoped but were distributed among the towns of Etruria and kept there as hostages for a period of sixteen years and when in the seventeenth they were allowed to return to their country their number had melted down to 300—a proof of the manner in which they had been treated by those who had promised to deal with them according to the principles of justice and equity

Before L Aemilius Paulus returned to Italy he crowned all he had done hitherto by punishing Epirus for what Italy had suffered from Pyrrhus more than a century before Some of the Epirots had indeed ventured to take up arms against the Romans but after the defeat of Perseus they remained perfectly submissive and did not anticipate that the Romans would take vengeance upon them Aemilius Paulus however in passing through their country on his return to Italy took up his quarters among the Molossians who were commanded under penalty of death to deliver up all their gold and silver When this was done and the defenceless people now fancied themselves in perfect safety the soldiers on a sudden fell upon them No less than 15 000 Epirots were massacred or sold into slavery and seventy towns were destroyed Such was the conduct of a man who is often cited as an example of mildness and humanity! It would have been cruel enough in the course of a destructive war but perpetrated as it was among a peaceful and unsuspecting people it was a piece of unpardonable brutality[3]

The conquest of Macedonia the immense wealth which had been brought to Rome and the annual tribute which the conquered had to pay filled not only the public treasury but the pockets of those who were at the head of affairs and it is from this time that we must date the fatal gulf which was forming at Rome between enormous wealth and absolute poverty The well

[3] Liv xlv 27—34

stocked treasury henceforth rendered it unnecessary to levy the poll tax or *tributum* on Roman citizens[4] The haughty and domineering spirit of Rome now no longer scrupled to display itself on every occasion, and it became more and more manifest that it was her plan to subjugate all nations who were yet in the enjoyment of apparent freedom or whom she had reason to fear The first sign of it occurred in the time of the war against Perseus Antiochus Epiphanes in the belief that Rome being engaged elsewhere would not be able to defend her allies had invaded Egypt which was under the protectorate of Rome The guardians of young Ptolemy VI (Philometer) had claimed for their ward Phoenicia and Coelesyria and Antiochus occupied Pelusium with a strong garrison But as Ptolemy became reconciled to his brother Physcon whom the Alexandrians had raised to the throne and who refused to give up Cyprus and Pelusium to the Syrian Antiochus in B C 168 again entered Egypt The two brothers now applied for and obtained the assistance of Rome, and a Roman embassy which was forthwith despatched to Egypt met Antiochus not far from Alexandria Popillius Laenas one of them required of the king to quit Egypt and as Antiochus gave an evasive answer the ambassador drew a circle round him demanding a positive reply and compelled him to leave the country Words of a Roman who spoke as if the world belonged to him thus accomplished what otherwise could have been effected only by force of arms

The same haughty contempt was shown towards all those who had openly or secretly espoused the cause of Perseus The first against whom the Romans intended to direct their arms were the Rhodians who for the last 140 years had been allied with Rome When the Rhodians saw that it was impossible to escape from the vengeance of Rome they sent ambassadors whom the haughty senate even refused to listen to Those Rhodians who had secretly supported Perseus made away with themselves or took to flight At length however the Rhodians were pardoned

[4] Plin xxxiii 1[56] comp Liv xlv 40 Vell Pat ii 9

but they had to submit to the hardest conditions: they were deprived of the honour of being Roman allies; they were required to give up their possessions in Lycia and Caria, to cease levying on vessels that passed through their sea, the toll from which they had derived most of their wealth, and to recognise the supremacy of Rome.

Eumenes of Pergamus intended himself to go to Rome and pay his homage to the senate; but he was forbidden to travel, because he was suspected of having been secretly allied with Perseus. Other rulers recognised the supremacy of Rome without any difficulty: such as Prusias of Bithynia, who degraded himself even so far as to call himself the freedman of Rome, and to kiss the threshold of the Roman curia; Masinissa, who governed his kingdom in the name of Rome; Seleucus Nicator of Syria, Ariarathes of Cappadocia, and the two kings of Egypt. In the last of these countries, Philometer and the contemptible Physcon had again become involved in disputes; and as Physcon, contrary to all fairness, had obtained the favour of Rome, the kingdom was in B.C. 162 divided between them; but the division was so arranged by the Roman senate as to keep alive the seeds of discord, whereby the two brothers necessarily weakened each other. In like manner means were devised of breaking the power of Syria; for the heir to the throne, Demetrius, was kept at Rome, where he lived as a hostage; and Antiochus V. (Eupator) though only nine years old, was declared king in B.C. 164, in order that the senate might be able to act as his guardian, and thus govern the weakened kingdom according to the interests of Rome. After this, Roman ambassadors caused the Syrian fleet to be destroyed, and the elephants trained for war to be mutilated or killed, so that the kingdom of Syria became perfectly harmless. All these princes, moreover, were strictly watched by Roman emissaries, so that nothing could be done or attempted without the knowledge of Rome, which had thus thrown its net over them. The senate by these means obtained information about all the states which, sooner or later, were to be subjugated by its overwhelming

power There were only two powers, Carthage and the Achæan confederacy, which seemed to be an obstacle in the way of Roman policy, but their destruction had long been in contemplation and was secretly prepared

The period between the victory over Macedonia and the third Punic war (B.C. 149) is very barren, and presents scarcely any event of general interest All we know is that the Romans at that time began to attack the Gauls in the Alps, that they gradually made themselves masters of the coast of Liguria as far as Spain, that they subdued the Dalmatians, and made themselves complete masters of Corsica In Spain the war still continued, and was conducted with great vigour against the Celtiberians The Romans there acquired one tract of land after another, as there was no national bond among the tribes of Spain All of them would have willingly recognised the supremacy of Rome had she been inclined to make peace on tolerable terms, but what she wanted was absolute submission, and her conduct was such that no one could trust her In this manner war broke out afresh each time that a new commander arrived in Spain and before that country had a really great man capable of avenging the wrong it was suffering two tragic scenes occurred in Africa and Greece Carthage was destroyed and Greece lost its freedom

CHAPTER XXI

THE THIRD PUNIC WAR, AND THE DESTRUCTION OF CARTHAGE—FINAL SUBJUGATION OF MACEDONIA AND ACHAIA, AND THE DESTRUCTION OF CORINTH

THE peace which had been concluded with Carthage in B C 201 lasted for a period of upwards of fifty years, during which the Carthaginians did not give the Romans a single cause of complaint, but the relation subsisting between the two republics and Masinissa proved to be a fruitful source of annoyance to Carthage, and the injustice of the Romans, who were to act as mediators, in the end drove the Carthaginians to despair their last and fatal struggle was the result of it Masinissa, in the neighbouring country of Numidia, not only acted as a watchful spy over what was going on at Carthage, but it would seem that he was secretly authorised to harass and annoy his neighbours in any way without fear of being taken to account by the Romans In B C 182 he took possession of the rich district of Emporia, about the Lesser Syrtis, which Syphax had given up to Carthage The Carthaginians, not being permitted to carry on war without the sanction of Rome, brought complaints against him before the Roman senate After many deliberations, ambassadors were indeed sent to Africa to investigate the matter, but with secret instructions to favour Masinissa, and strictly to watch the movements of the Carthaginians, who were finally obliged in B C 174 not only to give up that tract of country, with many flourishing towns, but to pay to Masinissa the sum of 500 talents Cato, who had been one of the ambassadors, and whose ambition had not been sufficiently flattered by the people of Carthage, looked with envy and hatred upon the African republic, which was still

great and prosperous and in his mind the resolution was soon ripened to exert all his powers to bring about the destruction of a state, which though outwardly flourishing was yet in a condition of inward decay, and would perhaps have soon perished of its own disease[1] That republic, in which the democratical party appears to have gained the upper hand, was distracted by internal discord and although the number of real patriots must have been very great yet many citizens seem to have been in the pay of Rome or of Masinissa and these were zealously engaged in furthering the objects of the enemy The patriots at length carried a decree by which forty senators were sent into exile as traitors to their country The exiles fled to Masinissa with whom they found a cordial welcome as they had supported his cause At last about B C 152 the Carthaginians tired of their forbearance and of their fruitless solicitation of Rome's mediation took up arms to defend their own rights against the Numidian aggressor Masinissa was at this time more powerful than the Carthaginians whose armies still consisted of mercenaries Though upwards of ninety years old he led his own forces into the field and having to fight against an unskilful Carthaginian general he completely defeated his enemies and compelled them in an humiliating peace to receive back their exiles All this was done in the presence of Roman ambassadors who merely acted the part of idle spectators

But the time had now come for Rome to carry out her long cherished plan for her suspicion that it was Masinissa's intention to make himself master of Carthage may not have been without some foundation Cato in the Roman senate incessantly urged the necessity of destroying the rival republic which once had sent a Hannibal into Italy and he concluded all the speeches he delivered at this time with these words ceterum censeo Carthaginem esse delendam P Cornelius Scipio Nasica was wiser than Cato and opposed his plan because he justly thought that so long as Rome had to be on her guard against a rival

[1] Appian *Pun* 69

republic, his fellow citizens would be under a useful restraint, and be prevented from abandoning themselves to frivolous and reckless passions and haughty insolence He was convinced that it would be a misfortune for Rome to be deprived of a neighbour who could inspire her with fear, and he well knew that it was in the struggles with that mighty rival that Rome had acquired her greatness and strength. It might also be that he was influenced by a feeling of humanity for the unfortunate Carthaginians, but however this may have been, Cato's opinion prevailed, being more in accordance with the spirit and policy of Rome The Roman ambassadors, on their return from Africa gave a most glowing account of the prosperity of the Carthaginians, who had long been making preparations for the conflict with Masinissa, which they foresaw was inevitable The senate took the Carthaginians to account for their conduct towards Masinissa, and, desponding and broken hearted, they sent envoys to Rome, where they were ambiguously requested to make reparation to Rome, but were at the same time assured that nothing should be done against them

But, notwithstanding this assurance, and under the pretext that the Carthaginians had broken the peace of their own accord, the consuls M' Manilius and L. Marcius Censorinus, in B C 149, assembled an army of 8000 foot and 1000 horse in Sicily There other Carthaginian ambassadors were expected, and when they appeared the consuls declared, that as Carthage was divided into parties, Rome must have some security they accordingly demanded that 300 members of the most distinguished families should be delivered up as hostages The demand was complied with, and when the submission of Carthage was secured in this manner, the consuls led over their forces in a large fleet, and landed at Utica, which, from despair, had even before this thrown itself into the arms of Rome There again Carthaginian ambassadors appeared before the consuls, who now declared themselves to be ready to treat with them on any point that had not been settled before, but the ambassadors were at the same time told that, as a further security for their keeping peace, Carthage must

deliver up all her arms and military engines This command, hard as it was, was yet obeyed, and the Carthaginians now naturally thought that Rome would be perfectly satisfied Roman commissioners were sent into the city, who carried away 2000 catapults and 200 000 suits of armour But when after this the consuls further demanded that the city of Carthage should be razed to the ground, and that its inhabitants should build for themselves another town at a distance of several miles from the sea coast, the exasperation of the Carthaginians rose to such a pitch, that all the gates of the city were instantly shut, and all the Romans and Italians that happened to be within the walls were put to death Despair gave the people courage, and all resolved to fight to the last rather than yield to so treacherous and infamous an enemy the senators declared that they would perish with Carthage

The people, being seized with an almost frantic madness, contrived in every possible way to supply the means of defence in the place of the arms of which they had been so treacherously deprived and every one, without difference of rank, age, or sex, endeavoured to do his best in defending and protecting the devoted city There still were 70,000 inhabitants who made the most desperate efforts and were worthy of a better fate The Romans had not anticipated so determined a resistance to their last demand they had imagined that the city might be taken without any difficulty But they were mistaken their consuls were not skilful commanders and several assaults upon the strong and lofty walls of the city were energetically repulsed The Carthaginians themselves made several sallies, and on one occasion the Romans were saved only by the prudence and resolution of P Cornelius Scipio the son of Aemilius Paulus, who served in the army as a tribune of the soldiers Hasdrubal, a Carthaginian general who lived in exile, and with an army of fellow exiles conducted the war, independently of Carthage, against Masinissa was now recalled and intrusted with the command of the Carthaginian forces outside the city, where Phameas com

manded the light cavalry Both of them performed very brilliant feats against the Romans during their foraging excursions into the interior of the country, but Phameas afterwards turned traitor, and went over to the enemy The consul of the year B C 148, L Calpurnius Piso, and the praetor L Mancinus, were no more successful than their predecessors, and this circumstance increased the confidence and enthusiasm of the besieged, who still kept up their communication with the sea Masinissa, in the meantime, withdrew his forces, as he began to fear the Romans, but in the same year he died, leaving his kingdom to his son Micipsa Scipio, who had been appointed executor of his will now increased the Roman army by the Numidian cavalry In this memorable year Cato also died, at the age of 85, and in Macedonia a pretender arose, under the name of Philip, who claimed the throne, found many followers, and defeated the Roman generals, while shortly after the Achaeans also rose in arms against Rome.

All these events contributed to increase the hope of the Carthaginians that they might yet be successful, but the Romans also became aware that their want of success was owing only to the laziness and inability of their commanders. They accordingly raised P Cornelius Scipio, the son of Aemilius Paulus, to the consulship for the year B C 147, though he had not yet attained the legitimate consular age, and they assigned to him Africa as his province He was afterwards, like the conqueror of Hannibal honoured by the surname of Africanus He is usually praised as one of the greatest Romans, and he fully deserves the praise bestowed upon him as far as his generalship is concerned, but his greatness is nevertheless, over-estimated, for it is evident that he was but too well aware of his eminence, and that he made a show of his great qualities He was the affectionate friend of Laelius, the pupil and admirer of Polybius, and the patron of Terence and Panaetius, but he never showed that lofty greatness of soul which we admire in the elder Scipio As a politician, he was consistent throughout his life, and an unflinching conserva

tive in the strictest sense of the word he was bent on upholding the state of things such as it existed in his days, even though he might clearly see that it was based on injustice, and must lead to ruin After his arrival in Africa, his first object was to restore discipline among the troops, and to cut off the supplies which had till then been introduced into Carthage from the sea He then compelled Hasdrubal to retreat, and made himself master of Megara, a suburb of Carthage on his attempting to stop up the mouth of the harbour, the Carthaginians set about digging a new entrance, and secretly built a fleet of 500 sail The appearance of this fleet produced the greatest consternation among the Romans, and had the Carthaginians possessed sufficient resolution to attack the enemy's fleet, they might have destroyed it completely On one occasion, a band of Carthaginians, who had devoted themselves to death, made a sally from the city and set the Roman engines and towers on fire, but the Romans soon restored what was destroyed, and carried on the siege with fresh vigour until the approaching winter put an end to their operations

Scipio employed this interval in taking the town of Nepheris from whence Carthage had until then derived many of its provisions The command of the army was continued to him for the year B C 146, and in the spring of that year he renewed his attacks upon the city The inhabitants had by this time been reduced to a most frightful state of famine, during which Hasdrubal, who had assumed the supreme power, introduced a sort of reign of terror At length the Romans succeeded by night in taking possession of the harbour Cothon and in scaling the last of the three walls by which Carthage which was situated on a peninsula was protected on the land side The enemy now was within the city, and the struggle which ensued is one of the most heart rending that a person can think of From the market-place three streets lined with houses of six stories each, led to the citadel of Bozra or Byrsa whither Hasdrubal had withdrawn The contest was carried on in all the streets and houses

for six days and the houses were conquered one by one by breaking through the walls from room to room and from house to house The struggle at the same time went on upon the flat roofs of the houses as well as in the streets and the cries and moanings of the wounded and dying mixed with the shouts of the combatants, rendered the scene one of extreme horror The famine in the city was so great that the living satisfied their hunger with the dead bodies of their fellow citizens With the most unparalleled exertions the Romans at length reached Byrsa the highest point of which was occupied by a temple of Aesculapius Scipio then ordered the three streets to be set on fire and in a short time the whole city was in a blaze On the seventh day some Carthaginians came from the citadel to Scipio entreating him to spare the lives of the citizens This request was granted but he refused to pardon 900 Roman deserters who had taken refuge in the citadel Immediately 50 000 men and women, carrying olive branches in their hands came forward, and were sold as slaves by the conqueror Hasdrubal, with the Roman deserters then took possession of the temple of Aesculapius but here his courage failed him he fled to the conqueror and implored his mercy while the deserters set fire to the temple and perished in the flames Hasdrubal's wife braver than her husband and indignant at his cowardly conduct threw herself with her children into the flames

The destruction of Carthage was now complete the scenes of terror and despair which Scipio had witnessed are said to have drawn tears into his eyes and stirred up in his mind gloomy forebodings of the fate which awaited his own native city[2] The Roman senate passed a decree that every building of Carthage should be razed to the ground the territory of Utica was increased by the annexation of a part of the Carthaginian

[2] He repeated to his friend Polybius, who was present, the following two lines from the Iliad (v 164) —

Εσσεται ἦμαρ ὅτ' ἂν ποτ ὀλώλῃ Ἴλιος ἰρὴ
Καὶ Πρίαμος καὶ λαὸς ἐυμμελίω Πριάμοιο

dominion, and the republic of Carthage became a Roman province under the name of Africa, which like other provinces was governed by a Roman proconsul or praetor Scipio celebrated a magnificent triumph on his return to Rome A state had thus perished in which Rome lost what could never be restored to her —a noble rival Instead of the commercial fleets which had hitherto visited all parts of the Mediterranean, there were now no ships except transports, which carried to Rome provisions and slaves or wild beasts to amuse and brutalise the populace and pirate boats, which increased in proportion with the conquests of Rome The site of ancient Carthage was cursed, and afterwards, when the noble C Sempronius Gracchus founded a colony there, he established it, at some distance from the site of the old city, under the name of Junonia, but the new town soon assumed the name of Carthage, and prospered so well, that towards the end of the second century of our era it became the seat of a Christian bishop About the middle of the fifth century it became the capital of the kingdom of the Vandals, and in A D 698 it was taken and destroyed by the Arabs At present the site of ancient Carthage is discernible only by heaps of ruins

The insurrection in Macedonia to which we referred above, had by this time been quelled The inhabitants of that country too soon discovered that the freedom which Rome had given them was worse than slavery and it was owing to this feeling that they allowed themselves to be duped by a person of the name of Andriscus a Thracian by birth and a runaway gladiator, who, in B C 149 came forward in Thrace and gave himself out to be a son of the late king Perseus, calling himself Philip The discontented people of Macedonia, after a short resistance submitted to him in the hope that he would deliver them from the yoke of Rome He entered into connections with Carthage defeated the praetor P Juventius Thalna who was sent against him and invaded Thessaly The whole affair became more serious than could have been expected, but in B C 148 Q Caecilius Metellus was sent against him as praetor and

after several skirmishes a decisive battle was fought in the neighbourhood of Pydna, in which the impostor was completely defeated. Andriscus fled to Thrace but being delivered up to the Romans by a Thracian chief he adorned the triumph of Metellus who from his Macedonian victory obtained the surname of Macedonicus. In B C 148 another pretender arose in Macedonia who likewise declared himself to be a son of Perseus but he was defeated by the quaestor L Tremellius After these insurrections Macedonia lost its nominal freedom and was constituted a Roman province

The time had now come when Greece too was to be deprived of the last shadow of its freedom On the advice of Cato and Scipio the three hundred survivors of the Achaean hostages had been allowed, in B C 151 to return to their country Some of them were old men but all of them were burning with an implacable hatred of the Romans Had the Achaeans made common cause with Andriscus they might have entertained a reasonable hope of being able to resist the enemy but that opportunity was neglected, and now they were led to believe by their senseless leaders, Critolaus and Diaeus that single-handed as they were they might expel the Romans from their country The long peace which they enjoyed had been spent in idleness and

ceived that the fall of Carthage was inevitable, they spoke in a different tone and under the pretext of a desire to prevent further disturbances within the confederacy arising from the different elements of which it was composed they demanded that those places which had not been united with the confederacy at the close of the war with Perseus should be separated from it Those places were Sparta Corinth Argos Heraclea near Mount Oeta and Orchomenos in Arcadia When this demand was announced to the assembly of the Achaeans at Corinth, the Roman ambassadors were attacked insulted and driven out of the theatre The demand was indeed a glaring injustice, but the Achaeans ought to have yielded to a positive necessity The Romans who were as yet engaged against Carthage brooked the insolence and only demanded reparation for it Several embassies passed between Achaia and Rome but as the enraged and mad party of Diaeus and Critolaus wished for war the Roman ambassadors sent by Q Caecilius Metellus were again insulted and war was at once declared against Rome and Sparta Metellus accordingly after having reduced Macedonia entered Greece in B C 147 Critolaus had advanced northward as far as Thessaly probably in the hope of being able to form connections with the Pseudo Philip but the pretender was defeated before the Achaeans reached Thermopylae When Critolaus heard of the approach of Metellus he retreated into Locris where he was overtaken by the Romans and his army was dispersed like chaff Critolaus himself was never heard of after he probably perished in the marshes on the sea coast All Greece was in the greatest consternation

In the meantime a Roman fleet landed on the western coast of Peloponnesus and ravaged the country in a barbarous manner and as Metellus advanced southward the inhabitants of Thebes quitted their city and fled into the mountains But the Roman general used his victory with great moderation for in his heart he pitied the Greeks and would willingly have spared them if their own insolent conduct had permitted him When he reached

Mevara, L. Mummius who had been elected consul for the year B C 146 hastened to undertake the command against the Achaeans Mummius had no «rapa lues with the Greeks Le was a man without education, and all he desired was laurels for himself, and treasures for Rome. Diaeus was now commander of the Achaeans having enlisted all the slave population, to the amount of 1° 000 capable of bearing arms, he assembled his army in the ne «hbourhood of Corinth, fancying that he should be able to defend the Isthmus All propo.als of peace had been treated by him with the utmo«t contempt and reckle« ness But in the valley of Leucopetra the Achaeans were so completely defeated, that it was impos.ble for them to face the enemy again The army in its flight by Corinth alarmed the inhab tants so much, that they also took refuge in the neighbouring hills Diaeus himself fled to Megalopolis where he killed his wife and burnt himself with his whole house On the third day after the battle Mummius entered Corinth which was filled with the most splendid works of Grecian art The Romans indulged in unrestrained plunder and then reduced the town to a heap of ashes The remaining part of the male population was put to the sword while the females and children were sold as slaves Thebes and Chalcis experienced the same fate All the costly treasures which had been accumulated a Corinth and had not been destroyed by the conquerors were «hipped for Rome and the rudene«s and ignorance of Mummius are strikingly illu«trated by his telling the sailors that if any of the works of art «hould be lo«t or damaged during the voyage, they would have to re«tore them at their own expense

The good days of Greece were now pa «ed for ever and though afterwards «ome of the Roman emperors treated the country with kindness and reverence for its past greatness still it never recovered its ancient «plendour Those Greeks who had taken no part in the war were restored to nom nal freedom, but all national ties between them were destroyed the territory of Corinth became Roman domain land and all Greece was formed

into a Roman province under the name of Achaia Polybius on this occasion had to perform the sad duty of acting the part of a mediator between the conquerors and his unfortunate countrymen, for whom he contrived to obtain several favours, and whom he tried to accustom to the new order of things Mummius was honoured with a triumph and the surname of Achaicus The fall of Carthage took place in July, that of Corinth occurred in September, B C 146

CHAPTER XXII.

THE WARS IN SPAIN.—VIRIATHUS.—NUMANTIA.—INSURRECTION OF THE SLAVES IN SICILY.—THE KINGDOM OF PERGAMUS.

Rome had found it comparatively easy to conquer two of the wealthiest republics of antiquity, but that it was not so easy to subdue nations flourishing by agriculture and animated by a strong love of their country and freedom, was a lesson which she learned in the protracted war against the tribes of Spain who maintained their independence as their most precious good with the greatest energy and resolution against their oppressors. Rome's unjust proceedings became every day more glaring and intolerable

on condition of their absolute submission Marcellus then contrived to gain their confidence, and instead of using force, prevailed upon them by persuasion to conclude a peace with Rome on terms which in their circumstances were quite reasonable But after his departure from Spain, L Licinius Lucullus, and still more the praetor Ser Sulpicius Galba after having suffered a severe defeat called forth by his avarice and cruelty a general insurrection in Lusitania, for although after some resistance the Lusitanians south of the river Tagus voluntarily submitted and assembled without their arms, Galba ordered them all to be massacred Among the few who escaped on that fearful day was Viriathus destined one day to become the avenger of the wrong that was done to his country Cato brought an accusation against Galba for this act of wanton cruelty, and the man would have been condemned to death had he not implored the mercy of the Roman people

Viriathus a Lusitanian is said to have been at first a shepherd then a robber and in the end he became a general who even according to the judgment of his enemies showed in the field of battle not only the greatest courage, but the most eminent talent and skill He rallied around him as many of his countrymen as he could and with them he waged war against the Romans for a period of eight years[1] Being himself accustomed to a free life in the mountains being robust hardened adroit always cheerful and dreading no danger he was beloved by his countrymen he knew how to manage them and to keep alive in them the desire to defend their freedom It would be of great interest to relate with what skill he wore out the Roman armies how he was present everywhere with his light cavalry and how he dispersed his enemies and then conquered them one by one but we must confine ourselves to the principal events Q Fabius Maximus Aemi-

[1] Appian *Hispan.* 60 &c Livy Epit. 52 and Florus ii 17 state that he carried on the war for fourteen years but as he did not commence hostilities till B C 148 and as he was murdered in B C 140 the writers include the time that he fought among the Lusitanians against Lucullus and Galba that is, they begin their calculation in B C 153

hanus and Q. Fabius Maximus Servilianus both experienced his valour prudence and skill Servilianus in B C 141, concluded a peace with him in which Viriathus was recognised as the friend and ally of Rome and in which the Lusitanians were left in the possession of their country The war thus seemed to be concluded but the Romans could not get over the feeling that they had treated Viriathus too much as their equal and the very next year, B C 140 the consul Q Servilius Caepio faithlessly violated the peace and renewed the war While Decimus Junius Brutus was engaged in another part of Spain Viriathus was again induced to enter into fresh negotiations for a treaty, but Caepio secretly hired some Lusitanian assassins who entered the tent of their leader, and finding him asleep, cut his throat, and then returned to the Roman camp to receive their blood money

After the murder of Viriathus the Lusitanians were no longer able to hold out against their enemies they had lost their head, and were without confidence in themselves In B C 139, the consul D Junius Brutus subdued the whole of Lusitania and in the peace which he concluded with the conquered people he assigned to those who had served under Viriathus the town and district of Valentia, on the south eastern coast of Spain, where owing to the extreme mildness of the climate they entirely lost their warlike spirit Brutus was the first Roman that crossed the river Minius (Minho) and entered the territory of the Gallaeci, whence he derived the surname of Gallaicus he celebrated his triumph in B C 132

A more determined resistance was offered to the Romans by the city of Numantia, in the country of the Arevaci This city the ornament of Spain, has gained the admiration of all ages for the heroic manner in which its citizens asserted to the last their liberty It was situated on an eminence surrounded by rocks and forests on the bank of the river Durius (Douro) and ditches and mounds protected the approach from the plain[2]

[2] Ruins of the ancient town are still visible in the neighbourhood of Soria, on the right bank of the river Douro

The war against Numantia began in B C 143, and was carried on successively by Caecilius Metellus, and Q Pompeius, who as proprætor had been unfortunate against Viriathus He had siege to Numantia, but in B C 140 his position became so desperate that he was obliged to conclude a peace with the Numantines, which, however, from fear of the senate, he afterwards denied, whereupon the war was resumed afresh In B C 137 the consul C Hostilius Mancinus also fought without success he was driven from his camp, and his army was placed in so perilous a situation that he was obliged to submit to a very humiliating peace, which, however, he could not have obtained but for the mediation of young Tib Sempronius Gracchus, who was then serving in the army as quæstor, and in whom the Numantines had confidence from their recollection of the noble conduct of his father The Romans obtained safe departure on condition that Numantia should remain free and independent, and be treated as a friend of Rome When this peace was laid before the senate to receive its sanction, the senate with one accord declared it invalid, and decreed that Mancinus should be delivered up to the enemy, in order to annul the peace legally But the Numantines acted in a nobler spirit than the Romans they refused to accept the person of the consul, as the breach of public confidence could not be atoned for by the sacrifice of the consul Gracchus escaped sharing the fate of Mancinus only through his great popularity with the people of Rome it is not improbable that the shameful and unjust conduct of the Roman aristocracy on this occasion made a deep impression upon his noble mind, and roused his holy indignation

After this again a few years passed away without the Romans gaining any great advantages and it now became evident that the war could not be brought to a close unless Rome made greater exertions and placed her armies under the command of the ablest man she possessed. Scipio Africanus, the destroyer of Carthage, was accordingly again elected to the consulship for the year B C 134, and forthwith went to Numantia to crush also that

noble people The first thing he did was to render the army, which had become desponding and disorganised, fit for active service He received reinforcements from Jugurtha, the grandson of Masinissa, and set about forming a fourfold line of fortifications round the city, in order to effect by hunger what had been in vain attempted by the sword All endeavours of the Numantines to break through these fortifications failed On one occasion however, some Numantines succeeded in forcing their way to the neighbouring town of Lutia Their valour excited universal admiration, and all Lutia offered them assistance Scipio, who had followed the Numantines, then committed an outrage which would be pardoned only in a savage, for he ordered the hands of 400 citizens of Lutia to be cut off, because they were ready to support Numantia[3] The besieged were suffering from frightful famine, having for a time been feeding on the corpses of their fellow citizens, and Scipio now called upon them to surrender at discretion The Numantines begged for a truce of three days, that they might consider what course to take The request was granted, and the time was spent by the most distinguished of the Numantines in destroying their wives and children. The slaughter was so great, that when on the third day the gates were thrown open, only a small number, whose features hardly resembled those of human beings, came out and surrendered to the enemy The city of Numantia was destroyed in B C 133, and its territory distributed among the neighbouring tribes The districts conquered by D Brutus and Scipio received the constitution of a Roman province, and Spain being exhausted by protracted and bloody wars remained for a time quiet, but about the year B C 100, new insurrections broke out, and in B C 98, the consul T Didius had again to fight against the Celtiberians it was under him that Sertorius first became acquainted with Spain and the Spaniards[4]

During this period of incessant foreign warfare, Italy out-

[3] Appian *Hispan.* 94
[4] Plutarch, *Sertor* 3 Gellius II. 27

wardly was in the enjoyment of perfect peace, and increasing in wealth and population But Scipio, who, notwithstanding his high conservative principles, saw that things could not go on much longer as they were, ordered in his censorship, B C 143, after the general purification, that public prayers should be offered up, not as had been done until then, for the increase of the republic, but for its preservation A scourge, however, came upon the Romans from a quarter from which they had least expected it By the conquests which Rome had made in Africa, Macedonia, Greece, and Spain, the number of slaves in all parts of the empire had increased to an enormous amount, and they were sold in the markets for a mere trifle The free population of Sicily had been extremely reduced in the wars with Carthage, of which it had been the scene, and afterwards by famine and plagues, and the large tracts of domain land in the occupation of

and compelled the slaves to retreat towards Enna, where he defeated them. Upwards of 20 000 of them were put to the sword and many were nailed on crosses along the high roads in order to terrify those who were yet in arms The life of Eunus who fell into the hands of the conquerors, was spared, but he died in a prison at Morgantia.

About this time, in B C 133 Attalus Philometor, king of Pergamus died and with him the dynasty of the Pergamenian princes became extinct Although the last of them was one of the worst specimens of eastern despots and took the greatest delight in preparing poison and dispatching his nearest relatives still his kingdom enjoyed a high degree of prosperity through the industry of his subjects who were among the foremost at that time in the cultivation of the arts sciences and learning In his will, Attalus bequeathed his kingdom and all his treasures to the Roman people They had long been in the habit of looking upon his kingdom as their property and the will by which it was made over to them had probably been drawn up by the imbecile king in compliance with the command of the Romans a fact which is clearly alluded to by the ancients themselves[5] The wealth which now poured in upon Rome marks more distinctly than even the conquest of Macedonia the beginning of that degenerate condition in which we find the Romans in the history of the last century of the republic[6] for now all the luxuries and with them all the vices of the east invaded Italy like an epidemic disease Soon after the death of Attalus Aristonicus a natural son of Eumenes the father of Attalus came forward refusing to recognise the will of Attalus and claiming the kingdom as his lawful inheritance He found many supporters among the people of Pergamus and placed himself at the head of a general insurrection of the Lydians and Ionians The war which now ensued lasted longer than any one could have anticipated for the consul P Licinius Crassus who was sent against the insurgents in

[5] See Horat. *Carm* II. 18 5 Sallust, *Fragm* p. 189 ed. Bipont.

[6] Plin. *Hist. Nat* XXXIII. 11

class which threatened sooner or later to become most dangerous to the safety of the state these were the poor, and freedmen, with their children, for although the class of freedmen was limited to the four city tribes, yet it was at all times easy to bribe them and to use them as tools for the worst purposes The poor had sunk into the most abject poverty, and Polybius[1] showed his clear insight into political matters when he predicted, that the constitution of Rome would be destroyed by her own people The tribuneship had entirely changed its original character, for shortly after the time at which we have now arrived, the tribunes became, by virtue of their office members of the senate, according to a law of C Atinius which, however, does not seem to have remained long in force They acted in many cases like real despots, and there are instances in which they threw both the consuls into prison, because at a levy of troops, they refused to comply with their wishes At another time a censor was ordered to be thrown from the Tarpeian rock and was saved only by the interference of other tribunes These and other wild acts of the tribunes are not unfrequent during this period It seems to have been about the year B C 167 that an attempt was made to devise some check upon the power of the tribunes for it was enacted by the Aelian and Fufian law that the assemblies convoked by the tribunes (*concilia*), should like the comitia be liable to be dissolved by signs in the heavens, such as thunder and lightning As the observation and interpretation of these signs belonged to the augurs, they thus obtained a veto upon the transactions of the tribunes, just as the tribunes had a veto on those of the government It is only to be regretted that the Romans here, for a good purpose, made use of a means in which they themselves had ceased to have any faith The enlisting of soldiers at this period was often a source of vehement contention, and the consuls at levies often committed acts of injustice and favouritism This led to a law, passed in B C 152, which enacted that henceforth the

[1] vi. 56.

soldiers should be drawn by lot,[2] and that every tribune should have the right of exempting ten of the men thus drawn from being drafted for the legions

The distinction between patricians and plebeians had long ceased to be of any political importance, and while the number of patrician families were decreasing at a rapid rate, that of illustrious plebeians was constantly increasing, but in its place another distinction had gradually been formed between what were called the *illustres* or *optimates* that is, the nobles and the common or obscure people (*obscuri*) without, however, there being the slightest legal inequality between them, for the law did not recognise the distinction at all it being founded upon nothing but a certain feeling and custom How much the number of patricians must have been reduced, and how little the people at this time heeded the distinction between patricians and plebeians may be inferred from the fact that in B C 131 both the censors were plebeians without there having been any contest or dispute about it The class of persons who had gradually stept into the place of the old patrician aristocracy consisted mainly of wealthy and distinguished plebeian families whose title to the high offices originally founded upon personal merit and ability, had by custom and practice become hereditary in their families They therefore now formed a new aristocracy and in their turn they were as exclusive and as oppressive to the people as the patricians had been to the plebeians Their great rallying point was the senate, in which ever since the time of the Hannibalian war, the number of plebeians had far exceeded that of the patricians Persons aspiring to the great honours of the republic and belonging to families of which no member had as yet filled any of the great offices of the state were termed *novi homines* or upstarts, in contradistinction to those whose ancestors had been invested with these offices and owing to the jealous exclusiveness of the illustrious families, a *novus homo* rarely succeeded in raising himself to the consulship Beside the free population in Rome and

[2] Appian *Hispan* 49

Italy, there now were large numbers of slaves, who were employed in those works which had formerly been performed by free men the consequence of this was the idleness of the citizens, their neglect of agriculture, and their indulgence in vice and debauchery, while a large class of free men were deprived of the means of gaining their subsistence

The constitution having reached its complete development, the legislative enactments had, for a long time past, been chiefly of a disciplinarian character these laws, which were repeatedly enacted and enforced, were intended to check the growing love of luxuries in the dress and mode of living of the Romans [3] Thus the Orchian law, in B C 181, limited the number of persons who were allowed to meet at repasts,[4] and the Fannian law, in B C 161, limited the expenditure to be incurred at banquets. This latter law was afterwards reinforced, and more strictly defined, by the Didian and Licinian laws [5] But these and many other laws which interfered with the practices of private life could not stop the current in its rapid progress In order to prevent the high offices of the republic from falling into the hands of young and inexperienced persons, some restrictive regulations seem to have existed as early as the time of the Hannibalian war,[6] but in B C 180 the tribune L Villius carried a law [7] defining the lowest age at which a person should be eligible to the several magistracies this law enacted that a candidate for the quaestorship should be at least thirty one years old, for the aedileship thirty seven for the praetorship, forty, and for the consulship, forty three [8] It had also been found necessary to suppress the practice of bribing judges with presents, and we find that as early as B C 204 the tribune M Cincius Alimentus carried a law [9] forbidding to give presents to judges

The increase of the population in the city, and of the increased

[3] *Leges sumptuariae*
[4] Macrob *Saturn.* ii 13
[5] Macrob *l c*, Gellius, ii 24, xv 8
[6] *Lex annalis*
[7] Liv xxv 2
[8] Liv xl 44 Cicero *De Off* ii 17
[9] *Lex Cincia muneralis*, see Cicero *De Senect* 4, Tacit. *Annal* xi 5, Festus, *v muneralia*

extent of the republic, rendered it necessary for the administration to be altered and modified according to circumstances. The jurisdiction within the city had been exercised by the praetor and popular courts. In B.C. 243 a second praetor was appointed, either to administer justice to the many strangers settled at Rome,[10] or, as some believe, to command the reserve army in Italy when the consuls were engaged abroad. The jurisdiction of these praetors, however, extended only to civil cases and minor offences, those which affected the well being of the state, and all criminal cases, being tried by the people, who elected for this purpose *quaestores parricidii*. After the publication of the Flavian table, the patricians had devised several new legal formulae, which they again kept secret, until, in B.C. 202, the jurist Sex. Aelius Catus made them known to the people, and thus offered them every facility of acquiring legal knowledge. But as the laws became more and more numerous and complicated, the litigant parties began to employ patrons or advocates to plead their causes. This custom became very general after the year B.C. 253, when the illustrious Tib. Coruncanius was the first plebeian pontifex maximus. At the time at which we have now arrived, legal disputes were indeed so frequent, that the praetor alone could not get through the business; and accordingly assistants were given him under the title of *centumviri*, three of whom were chosen from each of the thirty-five tribes, so that their whole body amounted to 105. Out of this body the praetor nominated for each particular case the *judices* who formed, at least after the time of the Gracchi, a sort of jury.

The great power which the Roman governors possessed in the provinces, and the temptations they found there to enrich themselves at the expense of the provincials, led, in B.C. 149, to a law being carried by the tribune L. Calpurnius Piso,[11] for the appointment of a commission, before which the provincials might bring an action against any governor who had been guilty of extortion during his administration. Laws with the same or similar objects,

[10] *Praetor peregrinus.* [11] *Lex Calpurnia de pecuniis repetundis.*

such as to prevent bribery at elections,[12] high treason against the republic[13] and peculation[14] were afterwards repeatedly enacted but generally with little effect, for the love of money and power deadened every other feeling, and the judges, generally speaking were not much better than those whose acts of injustice they were called upon to punish The provinces, with the exception of those in which Greek was spoken, were gradually Romanised by the armies which were kept there and by the introduction of the Latin language

The duties of a city police were performed as before, by the plebeian and curule aediles and the censors in many cases were very active, not only to preserve the ancient mode of life but to embellish the city with various useful and ornamental works Thus in B C 174 the censors ordered the streets of Rome to be paved and the roads outside the city to be covered with gravel aqueducts bridges temples and other public buildings were constructed to add to the splendour of the sovereign city, but it is a remarkable fact that in order to check the growing love of pleasure and idle amusements P Cornelius Scipio Nasica when in B C 184 the censors had commenced building a theatre for the performance of dramatic compositions caused all the building materials that had been brought together to be sold by public auction and a decree of the senate forbade the erection of any building in which the people should witness the plays in a sitting attitude, either within the city or at a distance of less than 1000 paces from it[15] As the number of slaves rendered the city rather unsafe at night watchmen were appointed whose duties began at sun set and who stood under the superintendence of a commission called the *quinqueviri* This office had been instituted soon after the war with Pyrrhus

The more Rome had come into contact with foreign powers and the more complicated were her relations with them, the more

[12] *Leges de ambitu*
[13] *De majestate*
[14] *De peculatu*
[15] Liv *Epit* 48 Vell Pat i 15 Val Max. ii 4 sec 2

she had an opportunity of developing her dangerous policy, the only objects of which were her own aggrandisement and the destruction of other states. The Roman ambassadors who were sent to Africa, Greece, and Asia were the most dangerous enemies of those countries though they often went under the pretext of establishing peace and friendship. They contrived to find out the weak points of a state and the means of overthrowing it, to scatter the seeds of confusion and discord and of future wars, which might be commenced as soon as the interests of Rome should make them desirable. The stronger among the foreign states and princes were disarmed and disabled by all the intrigues that cunning and fraud could devise while the weaker were made friends of and often allowed the enjoyment of apparent freedom until it suited the purpose of Rome to subdue them. All her allies were closely watched and burdens were imposed upon them as heavy as if they had been subjects. Nations and kings who were unable to inspire Rome with fear were often treated haughtily and despotically, in order to provoke their resentment, and thus to obtain a specious pretext for attacking and subduing them. That vaunted disinterestedness and generosity which the Romans sometimes showed towards others was therefore, nothing else than the dictate of a subtle and cunning policy, which never scrupled to make small or momentary sacrifices for the purpose of afterwards gaining greater advantages. In this manner Rome gradually threw the net of her policy over all nations often without their being aware of it until it was too late. It would be erroneous to believe that Rome was hurried on to the dominion of the world by a sort of fatality of which she herself was unconscious. all her steps and movements were well matured and calculated before hand. one victory led her to another and the more cautiously she acted, the better she succeeded. Her work was facilitated by the circumstance that the powers against which she fought were in a state of weakness and decay.

The many and important conquests which Rome had made

beyond the boundaries of Italy naturally increased the revenues of the republic Before these new resources had been opened to her, the almost uninterrupted succession of wars had often drained the public treasury, and compelled the republic to have recourse to public loans of money to meet the unavoidable expenditure but such momentary embarrassments and difficulties had no evil effects upon the state, which was not, like Carthage, dependent solely upon a well stocked treasury, but upon the vigour, energy, and virtue of its citizens On two occasions, about the end of the first and in the course of the second Punic war, the state had been under the necessity of artificially raising the ordinary value of its coinage in order to be able to pay its debts,[16] of covering its expenses by the voluntary contributions of the citizens, and of renewing the salt monopoly, but even these things did not affect the financial administration of the senate, and the entire social life of the Romans was characterised by a love of strict order and honesty The generals, on the whole, conscientiously delivered up to the treasury the booty which they had acquired in foreign countries though isolated instances of peculation are now and then mentioned It was not till after the conquest of Macedonia that the republic became really wealthy, in consequence of which the poll tax was taken off from the Roman citizens Besides the occasional large sums which were carried to Rome after victories and conquests, the state derived a regular revenue from the tribute of its allies and the provinces whose inhabitants were burdened with a heavy property tax, and with many ordinary as well as extraordinary payments and services to the governors and their often numerous retinue, from the tithes[17] and rents of the public domain in Italy and the provinces where many wealthy persons held their estates as tenants of the Roman republic from tolls[1] and from the rent of salt works mines and pasture lands The twentieth part of the value of slaves when manumitted also formed an important

[16] Plin *H st Nat* xxxiii 13 [17] *Decumae* [1] *Portoria*

source of revenue, as the manumission of slaves was a matter of very frequent occurrence.

Rome's navy, notwithstanding her wars with Carthage and Antiochus, never rose to a flourishing condition, for the service of the navy was thought degrading to a citizen, and the marines were taken only from the lower classes or from the maritime towns of Italy. It was her allies, and especially the Rhodians, who provided Rome with fleets when they were wanted, for the fleets of Syria, Macedonia, Illyricum and Carthage were destroyed. In her land forces, in the art of besieging, and the engines and instruments necessary for it, she had on the other hand, by this time reached a very high degree of perfection, as the Romans always adopted from their enemies that which appeared to them useful or likely to improve their own system. Rome had now outwardly attained the highest degree of prosperity, and nothing seemed able to check her in her victorious progress towards the supremacy of the world, but already a fatal disease was secretly working her ruin. It had eaten deeply into the flesh of the state: thus was the cancer of poverty, on the one hand, and avarice, extravagance, cruelty, treachery, and licentiousness on the other. The time for applying suitable remedies had been allowed to pass away, and the noble minded men, who now came forward to put their hands to the wheel, fell victims to their own schemes, or were crushed under the influence of vice and tyranny.

CHAPTER XXIV.

TIBERIUS AND CAIUS SEMPRONIUS GRACCHUS, THEIR LEGISLATION AND DESTRUCTION

We have hitherto accompanied the Romans in their victorious career abroad, and seen how by the success of their arms, supported by a firm and cunning policy, they subdued the nations round the Mediterranean, and reached a power before which every other that ventured to compete with them was crumbled into dust, but henceforward our attention will be mainly engaged by the violent internal shocks and convulsions which the republic had to suffer in consequence of the state of things described in the preceding chapter From these internal convulsions there arose a series of the most dreadful of all wars, those of citizens against citizens which destroyed the vital energies of the state, leading finally to the overthrow of the republican government, and the establishment of a monarchy under which the empire eked out its miserable existence for a period of about 500 years For a long time no portion of the domain land of the republic had been distributed among the citizens, and as, during the incessant wars many of the small landed proprietors had been obliged to neglect their farms and finally to sell them to their wealthier neighbours the former had more and more sunk into the depths of poverty, while the wealth of the latter had been increasing at an enormous rate The state of things seems to have been worst felt in Etruria

During the long internal peace which Rome had enjoyed the power of the senate gradually became so firmly established and so vast, that the assemblies of the people, in many respects,

but the circumstances of the time in which they lived pointed out to them the part they had to act in the history of their country.

Tib. Sempronius Gracchus was nine years older than his brother Caius; his mind had been trained by Cornelia, and improved by his intercourse with Greek philosophers and the wise Laelius; lastly, like most other Roman nobles he had learnt much in the practical school of the camp, for he had served in the last war against Carthage, and in that against the Numantines he had saved the lives of 20,000 Roman citizens by a treaty which the Spaniards were prevailed upon by him to conclude. It is said that on his march to Spain, as he passed through the fertile country of Etruria, his just indignation was roused by the sight of numberless slaves in chains, who cultivated the extensive estates of the wealthy aristocrats, while thousands of free citizens were pining in poverty. His pure and noble soul was seized with a deep felt sympathy for suffering humanity, which led him, after his return from Spain, to try the only remedy that seemed yet practicable. Seventy years before this period, C. Laelius is said to have perceived the evil, and to have thought of attempting a cure, but he gave up the idea in despair

The Licinian agrarian law had limited the domain-land to be occupied by one person to 500 jugera, and had ordained that all who were thus tenants of the republic should pay a small annual rent; but how little this law was observed even in the lifetime of the law-giver and by himself, we have already had occasion to remark as the law itself still existed, having never been repealed, the discontinuance of its observance was an abuse which any one had a right to denounce and to remove Tiberius Gracchus determined to renew the Licinian law All those who possessed more of the public land than the law permitted were concerned in the matter, they were the aristocracy, and they resolved to make a most determined opposition to any scheme which might drive them from their possessions. The object of Gracchus was, by taking away the surplus from the present occupants and distributing it among the poor, to afford the latter the

means of living and change them from an idle populace into industrious husbandmen He did not allow himself to be intimidated by the threats of his opponents his humanity, affability, and kindness his straightforward and upright conduct, and his generous interference with the Numantines, had secured him the greatest popularity at Rome, and when he presented himself as a candidate for the tribuneship, he was elected without any difficulty, for the year B C 133

His plans were well known, and many of the most distinguished men of the time such as Appius Claudius his father in law, and P Mucius Scævola the great jurist, although they knew that they themselves would be losers by his scheme were generous enough to support him with all their influence Encouraged by these and other friends he brought forward a bill enforcing the Licinian law, with these modifications that any man who had two sons might have 250 jugera beyond his own 500 for each of them that the distribution of the surplus and unassigned public land in equal portions among the poor should be conducted by a permanent college of three men (*triumviri*), and that the lots assigned to each should not be transferable by purchase or sale The abstract legality of this measure no one can dispute, for the state was the real owner of all public land and those who occupied it were in reality nothing but tenants at will of the state But the abuse and violation of the Licinian law had so long been connived at, that practically persons had got into the habit of looking upon their possession of public land as if it had been their real property, and accordingly many had laid out large sums of money upon such land or had erected buildings upon it, while others had *bonâ fide* purchased tracts and paid the full price of its value for no one seems to have thought that the state would ever reclaim it as its property Now with regard to buildings his law contained a clause that they should be valued and that those who had erected them should receive their value in money from the public treasury Had there been a similar clause to indemnify those who had purchased public land for its

real value, all reasonable demands would have been satisfied, though it would not by any means have allayed the opposition, but unfortunately this point was neglected

The senatorial or aristocratic party offered the most desperate opposition to the bill, and had recourse to the most disgraceful means to defeat Gracchus he was called a demagogue, a rioter, and a mutineer, and a sort of conspiracy, headed by P Cornelius Scipio Nasica and Q Pompeius, was entered into against him His opponents succeeded in gaining over to their side one of his colleagues, M Octavius, who was prevailed upon to put his veto on the bill As Octavius would have been a loser by it, Gracchus offered to make good the loss out of his own means if Octavius would give up his opposition This offer was refused, and Gracchus now implored and entreated him, but intimated at the same time, that if Octavius persisted he should be obliged to proceed to extremities, and propose to the people to deprive him of his office of tribune When Octavius still persevered, Gracchus put his deposition to the vote, and the office was taken from him This act of Gracchus has often been censured very severely, because it was unprecedented in the history of Rome, but the necessity of the case compelled Gracchus to act as he did, and after all, the citizens of a republic surely have the right to deprive a man of his office if he does not discharge his duties to their satisfaction. However, the antagonists of Gracchus had now got a handle against him, and they branded the deposition of Octavius as a violation of the constitution

After this the agrarian law was carried without opposition, and a permanent triumvirate was appointed, consisting of the two Gracchi and Appius Claudius The people were enthusiastic in their attachment to and admiration of Gracchus, but in the senate he was insulted in the most unbridled manner, and the aristocracy now set all their engines at work to thwart and obstruct him in carrying the law into effect About this time messengers arrived in Rome with the will of Attalus, who had just died, and had left his treasures and kingdom to the Roman people Gracchus availed himself of this opportunity to bring

the business was going on, Gracchus was informed by a friend, that, the consuls refusing to use force against the people the senators themselves were preparing to come to the assembly and kill him The people, on hearing that his life was in danger, made preparation to repel force by force P Scipio Nasica, a wealthy and vehement aristocrat, seized this moment, and called upon the senators to follow him and save the republic The senators led by Nasica, and armed with sticks, clubs, and the legs of the benches on which they had been sitting, rushed among the people, and knocked down or killed all who opposed them. Gracchus himself was slain in the tumult, and his body, along with those of 300 others, was thrown into the Tiber Many of his friends were afterwards sent into exile, or put to death, by the infuriated optimates, in most instances without any judicial verdict The sacred head of the popular party had thus fallen in the noblest contest in which a statesman could be engaged in a contest for the protection of the poor and the oppressed, but the agrarian law was still in force, and the triumvirs continued their operations M Fulvius Flaccus being appointed in the place of Tib Gracchus Scipio Nasica went to Pergamus in order to escape from the fury and indignation of the people and never saw his country again

The spirit of the murdered Tiberius survived in the college of the tribunes, who through him had become aware of the greatness of their power, but the less noble minded among them were driven to excesses, and ambitious efforts which could lead to no good In B C 132, Scipio the destroyer of Carthage and Numantia, returned from Spain he approved of the murder of his brother in law, and placed himself at the head of the senatorial party [3]

[3] Even when he was in Spain and had received intelligence of the murder of Tib Gracchus, he expressed his approval of it in the Homeric line, (*Odyss* λ. 47)

ως απόλοιτο και άλλος, όστις τοιαύτά γε ρέζοι

Cicero and other ancient writers, being biassed by aristocratic prejudices, speak in similar terms of the murder of the two Gracchi

In B C 131, C Papirius **Carbo** a friend of Tib Gracchus, and a man of great ability, but turbulent and unprincipled, being tribune, brought forward a rogation that the people should have the right to re-elect the same person to the tribuneship as often as they pleased, but Scipio successfully opposed the scheme After the death of Appius Claudius, Carbo had been appointed his successor in the triumvirate One day, in B C 129, Scipio vigorously opposed the proceedings of the triumvirs, and in the evening went home to prepare for a fresh attack upon them the next day, but in the morning he was found dead in his bed,

which seems to have been foremost among the claimants was taken and destroyed by the praetor L. Opimius. In order to prevent any further attempts the senate had recourse to an expedient which is not uncommon in republics: the leaders of the popular party were sent away from the city. C. Gracchus, in B.C. 126, being sent to Sardinia as quaestor to the consul L. Orestes, and Flaccus into Gaul to support the Massilians against the Salluvii, a Celtic people on the banks of the Rhone, who had invaded the territory of Massilia. Flaccus succeeded in defeating them, and thus formed the beginning of the Roman dominion in southern Gaul. The war there was continued for several years against the Allobroges and Arverni. In B.C. 122 the proconsul C. Sextius Calvinus founded the town of Aquae Sextiae (Aix), and in the year following Q. Fabius Maximus made the southern part of Gaul a Roman province, whence to this day that part of France bears the name of Provence. In order to secure the Roman dominion in Gaul, the consul Q. Marcius in B.C. 118 founded the colony of Narbo Marcius, the modern Narbonne.

But to return to the affairs of Rome itself: the optimates by the removal of the popular leaders gained only a short respite, and the delay of a movement whose progress was unavoidable. C. Gracchus, like his brother, had been trained for public life, but he possessed more talent and skill as a politician and an orator, although more vehement than Tiberius; he had the same noble and disinterested patriotism, and his impressive eloquence gained for him the greatest popularity. But the murder of his brother having destroyed all his hopes, and to some extent paralyzed his energy, he would willingly have kept aloof from all participation in public affairs, had he not been urged on by the spirit of his brother on the one hand, who is said to have appeared to him in his dreams, and on the other by the shameful conduct of the optimates, which even the meanest of men could not have borne. They contrived means to keep him in Sardinia as long as possible, but after the lapse of two years he suddenly appeared in Rome, B.C. 124, without having asked leave of Orestes. He defended his conduct

and was acquitted, but his opponents neglected no opportunity of annoying him with calumnies and charges which had not a shadow of truth and only placed his innocence in a more conspicuous light. Notwithstanding the opposition of the whole body of optimates he was elected tribune for the year B.C. 123.

His first measures were directed against the murderers and enemies of his brother and he accordingly proposed that a person once deprived by the people of one office should not be eligible to another but this bill he afterwards withdrew at the request of his mother. His second rogation was that any one who had put to death or sent into exile a Roman citizen without a formal trial, should be liable to a public prosecution. After these preliminary measures he renewed the agrarian law of his brother the carrying of which into effect had been obstructed in every possible way. After this he proposed a comprehensive series of laws some of which were carried, and all of which were intended to raise the lower classes remove abuses and limit the power of the senate. One of them ordained that the soldiers independently of their pay should also be equipped by the state and that no one should be obliged to serve in the army before the completion of his seventeenth year another enacted that public granaries should be established from which the poor at certain times were to receive corn at a very low price. A third was devised to establish the practice that the order in which the centuries were to vote in the comitia should be determined by lot.[8] A fourth forbade the putting to death a Roman citizen except by the command of the people themselves. These enactments secured to C. Gracchus the highest possible degree of popularity and he was re-elected tribune for B.C. 123[9] without any difficulty.

He entered upon the second part of his legislative activity[9]

[7] This law remained in force till about B.C. 74 when it was supplanted by another similar *Lex frumentaria*. Cicero, *Brut.* 6. *De Off.* ii. 21.

[8] It is more than doubtful whether this law was ever carried or even proposed.

[9] We here assign certain measures to his second tribuneship, but it must be observed that our authorities do not distinguish the time at which the several laws were brought forward.

with a reform of certain courts of justice,[10] in which all cases of mal administration were tried, and which had hitherto been composed of senators exclusively. Justice had been administered there with the most barefaced partiality, and the judges had allowed themselves to be bribed to an incredible extent. This evil was felt most severely by the provincials, when they had occasion to complain of Roman governors who had been guilty of extortion or oppression, for the judges in such cases were men of the same class and often in the same predicament, as the accused: at any rate they had the same interests, and the spoils of the provinces filled the pockets not only of the governors, but also of the judges. The right possessed by the provincials of bringing an action of extortion against a governor was in fact a greater misfortune for them than if they had possessed no such right at all. C. Gracchus endeavoured to put a stop to this abuse by enacting, that henceforth the courts which investigated such cases should be composed of equites,[11] or the wealthy capitalists who formed a sort of middle class between the aristocracy and the people, and who seemed to be a *desirable equipoise* to the senators. By this law he gained over to his plans the wealthiest and most respectable citizens, and gave a serious blow to the power of the senate. The equites henceforth seem to have supplied, at least to some extent, the popular courts also; for after this time the latter are mentioned very rarely. This judicial law of C. Gracchus, which remained in force down to the legislation of Sulla, shows more clearly than anything else that he was not a demagogue, a name by which he has so frequently been designated. Another law, which likewise did away with a great abuse, enacted that every year previous to the election of the consuls, the senate should determine the provinces which were to be assigned to them.

By far the most important attempt of C. Gracchus, though unfortunately an unsuccessful one, was to confer the Roman fran-

[10] The *judicia publica*.

[11] *Appian. De Bell. Civ.* i. 22; Vell. Pat. ii. 6; Cicero *in Verr.* ii. 16. According to Plutarch (*C. Gracch.* 5), the judicia were composed of 300 equites and 300 senators, but according to Livy (*Epit.* 60) of 600 equites and the 300 senators.

whose suit had been rejected the year before through the influence of Gracchus, now offered himself again, and being made consul for B C 121, became, as might be expected, the most active and zealous opponent of Gracchus When the latter offered himself a third time as a candidate for the tribuneship, he found himself deceived in his expectations the people did not elect him But he still remained one of the triumvirs

Being now divested of his sacred character of tribune, the senatorial party showed their intentions more and more unreservedly On one occasion, when Opimius had assembled the people with a view to abolish the laws of Gracchus, a tumult arose, and the senate issued a proclamation investing the consuls with dictatorial power The confusion soon became general, and Gracchus, with his friend Fulvius Flaccus, escaped to the Aventine, where Flaccus had hastily assembled as many armed friends and slaves as he could, to defend himself and his party against the attacks of their opponents Flaccus sent his son to the senate to negotiate for a truce, but the young man was thrown into prison and afterwards murdered. The senatorial party then made the attack, and Flaccus was slain Gracchus, who did all he could to avoid civil bloodshed, took to flight, and escaped to the sacred grove of the Furies, on the other side of the Tiber, but being overtaken by his pursuers, he desired a faithful slave who accompanied him to take away his life A proclamation having been made promising that if any one would bring the head of Flaccus, or Gracchus, he should receive its weight in gold, one Septimuleius cut off the head of the latter, and having increased its weight by pouring molten lead into it, brought it to Opimius to receive the reward The number of the slain in this affray is said to have amounted to 3000, the bodies of whom, together with those of the popular leaders, were ordered by Opimius to be thrown into the Tiber All the other friends of Gracchus who fell into the hands of their enemies were thrown into prison and there strangled, and when the optimates were satiated with blood, they committed the blasphemous mockery of dedicating a temple to Concord Some of

those who belonged to the party of Gracchus became renegades among them we find C Papirius Carbo, who, when raised to the consulship, in B C 120, defended Opimius against the tribune Q Decius who brought an action against him for having put to death Roman citizens without a trial Carbo became the favourite of the aristocracy, but he found a formidable opponent in L Licinius Crassus, whose sister Licinia had been married to C Gracchus, and who drove Carbo to despair and suicide This was the first important blow which the victorious party received, but Crassus himself afterwards changed, and became one of their champions

The blessings which the Gracchi had so ardently desired to confer upon their country were not realised the agrarian law was not observed, and the wealthy optimates continued, as before, to purchase the lands of their poorer neighbours, or to drive them from their farms while the equites, being greatly intimidated by the outrages of the aristocracy, showed at first little independence, and were found in the end to be as accessible to bribery and corruption as the senators had been. Things, in fact, went on much in the same way as they done before, until they were brought to a crisis in the war against Jugurtha.

CHAPTER XXV

FOREIGN WARS DURING THE PERIOD OF THE GRACCHI.—THE JUGURTHINE WAR.—C. MARIUS AND L. CORNELIUS SULLA.

We have already mentioned the conquests which the Romans, during this period, made in Gaul: we must here add that the Balearian islands were subdued by Q. Metellus, in B.C. 123,[1] and the Dalmatians, who henceforth appear as subjects of Rome, by his brother L. Metellus, in B.C. 117.[2] But a far more important war was that against the usurper Jugurtha, king of Numidia, of which we have a masterly account by Sallust. It derives its importance, not so much from the great efforts which were made on both sides, as from the circumstance that it shows the moral degradation into which the Romans had sunk, for here we clearly see that no crime and no treachery either in war or in peace was thought disgraceful if it yielded only gain and profit, and how at Rome everything could be accomplished by money. The corruption of the senate as well as of the people, and of the commanders as well as of the soldiers, was displayed openly and without shame.

Micipsa the son of Masinissa, had been king of all Numidia, that is, the country between Morocco and Tripolis. Before his death in B.C. 118, he gave his kingdom to his two sons, Hiempsal and Adherbal, and to his adopted son Jugurtha, and the three princes were to govern their kingdom as colleagues. Jugurtha, as a highly talented and captivating youth, had attracted Micipsa's attention at an early age, but when the king discovered that the youth far excelled his own sons, he was prompted by a feeling of jealousy and fear to send him with an

[1] Liv. *Epit.* 60, Oros. v. 13. [2] Liv. *Epit.* 62.

army to Spain, to assist Scipio in his war against the Numantines, with the hope that the young man would never return to Numidia. In Spain, Jugurtha gained the friendship of Scipio, and when he went back to Africa, Scipio gave him a recommendatory letter to Micipsa, who not only became reconciled to him, but in his will placed him on an equality with his own sons Jugurtha had become acquainted with the venality of the Romans, some of whom are even said to have stimulated him to bring about a revolution and place himself alone on the throne of Numidia The three princes could not possibly continue to rule together in peace and concord. Hiempsal, who was proud and ferocious, provoked Jugurtha, who took revenge by causing him to be murdered, in B C 117 Jugurtha also made an attempt upon the life of Adherbal, but the latter escaped, and hastened to Rome to implore the protection of the senate The Romans at first were inclined to investigate the matter, but the ten commissioners, among whom L Opimius was the most conspicuous, were so overwhelmed with the golden bribes of Jugurtha that they decided every thing according to his wishes The kingdom was now divided between the two princes, and in such a manner that the best part was assigned to Jugurtha, but this did not satisfy him new quarrels arose, and Adherbal was besieged in his capital of Cirta, and killed, in B C 112 It was in vain that Roman ambassadors again took him to account, for he bribed or deceived them in the most audacious manner The tribune, C Memmius, now showed his noble indignation at these disgraceful proceedings in Numidia, and by revealing the scandalous conduct of the Roman ambassadors compelled the senate to decree war against Jugurtha in B C 111 The consul, L Calpurnius Bestia, and his legate, M Aemilius Scaurus, who had previously been one of the ambassadors, accordingly led an army into Africa. The war was for a time conducted honestly, but the Romans, seeing that they might derive greater advantages by negotiations than by arms, concluded a peace with the enemy, and he nominally submitted to them The whole transaction was a mere farce,

for the Roman commanders were induced by bribes to let Jugurtha violate the terms of the peace in any way he pleased

When these things became known at Rome, they excited the greatest exasperation among those in whom the sense of honour had not yet become extinct The bold and eloquent tribune, C Memmius, again exposed the whole revolting system, and Jugurtha was summoned to Rome to account for his conduct He came, but even now he might have escaped punishment, had he not had the audacity to murder Massiva, a grandson of Masinissa, who was staying at Rome Immediately after, he quitted Rome with these words, "Oh, the venal city! it will perish as soon as it can find a purchaser"[3] Future ages saw the truth of this prediction, for in A D 193 Didius Julianus literally purchased the sovereignty of the Roman empire The senate now annulled all transactions with Jugurtha, and sent the consul, Sp Postumius Albinus, in B C 110, with an army to Africa He conducted the war in a careless and slovenly manner, and when the time for the consular election arrived, he went to Rome to attend the comitia, leaving the command of the army in the hands of his brother Aulus, who allowed himself to be imposed upon by the cunning Numidian in such a manner that he was surrounded by the enemy lost his camp and was compelled to submit to a most humiliating peace The senate however, refused to ratify it

At this time of misfortune and internal discord between the senate and people, Q Caecilius Metellus, who was made consul for the year B C 109, undertook the command against Jugurtha He conducted the war for two years in a manner which deserves the highest praise for he was above the vices of his age, incorruptible disinterested and great as a statesman no less than as a general His virtues however were obscured by his overwhelming aristocratic pride and his contempt of the people This trait in his character brought great misery on his country,

[3] *Urbem venalem et mature perituram, si emptorem invenerit* Sallust, *Jug* 35

for without it C Marius would probably not have been irritated and provoked by him to that degree in which he was. When Metellus went to Africa he took with him C Marius as his legate He was a man of humble origin but of a strong most energetic, and ambitious mind he was unable to brook the insolence of the optimates who set all their energies at work to keep him down He was a native of Arpinum and had about him all the rustic severity of the early Romans despising the education and accomplishments which in his time were the distinguishing features of Romans of rank he was unsurpassed or rather unequalled as a commander and a tactician In his early life he is said to have been a common labourer and then served as a common soldier in the army But his extraordinary talents did not remain unnoticed for without any family connection or influence he rose from one office to another and acquired considerable property He was very superstitious and the prophecies of a Syrian woman of the name of Martha had excited in him the strongest conviction that he was destined by fate to occupy the highest honours in the republic But the nobles hated the ambitious upstart who even in his tribuneship B C 119 had exerted himself to check their power and influence. In the camp of Metellus he signalised himself above all others and in B C 108 he resolved upon offering himself as a candidate for the consulship • Metellus not only opposed the scheme but ridiculed his ambition in a most provoking manner This conduct was more than Marius could bear he never forgot it afterwards and without asking for leave of absence he went to Rome and sued for the consulship He was received by the people with great enthusiasm as a real demagogue he flattered them on every occasion and was delighted in appearing among the populace as one of their equals By these means he gained the consulship for B C 107 with the commission to bring the war against Jugurtha to a close Metellus fancied that it was already terminated and with great reluctance surrendered the command to Marius

But Jugurtha strengthened himself again by entering into an

alliance with Bocchus, his father-in law, king of Mauritania Marius, in forming his army, set the old custom at naught, and enlisted large numbers of the poorer classes who had never before served in the legions the nobles did not object to this innovation, because it relieved them from the necessity of serving in the army, but they were blind to its consequences, for they do not seem to have perceived how dangerous arms might become in the hands of such people, who greedy after booty did not think of serving their country, but attached themselves to the general who could reward their services most liberally Marius was eminently successful against Jugurtha, yet it was not till his second campaign, in B C 106, that the war came to a close

L Cornelius Sulla, who had accompanied him as his quaestor to Africa, had nothing in common with him except his ambition he belonged to a patrician family, and was a talented, refined, and accomplished man of the world Marius had reduced Jugurtha so far, that his only hope now was in Bocchus, but Sulla, by his cunning, gained over the Mauritanian king to the Roman cause, and induced him to join in a plan of delivering Jugurtha into the hands of his enemies The scheme succeeded, and Jugurtha, in chains was surrendered to Sulla, who directly brought him to the camp of Marius He was afterwards carried to Rome in triumph, and starved to death in a prison The war against Jugurtha was thus brought to its close by Sulla, whose fame still further stimulated the jealousy and hatred with which Marius regarded not only him, but the whole party of the optimates

During this period Rome had been at war for several years with the Scordisci a Thracian people, whom they fought against with varying success, until, in B C 112, M Livius Drusus drove them back into their own country, and forbade them to cross the river Danube But conjointly with the Triballi they afterwards again invaded Macedonia, whence they were finally expelled in B C 107 by the proconsul M Minucius

CHAPTER XXVI

WAR AGAINST THE CIMBRI AND TEUTONI —SECOND SERVILE WAR IN SICILY —DISTURBANCES AT ROME BY THE TRIBUNE L. APPULEIUS SATURNINUS. —ACQUISITION OF CYRENE.

NOTHING could have happened more fortunately for Rome than the termination of the Jugurthine war at this time, for the republic required the talent and skill of Marius in a war compared with which that against Jugurtha had been little and insignificant, for swarms of barbarians were threatening to invade Italy from the north About B C 113 the Cimbri, probably a Celtic tribe, had been driven from their homes in the south-east of Europe by the Sarmatians, who were pressing westward. They appeared first in Noricum, in the north-east of the Adriatic and on the banks of the Danube Noricum was inhabited by Celts who stood under the protection of Rome, and it seems to have been there that they were joined by the Teutoni, who were undoubtedly Germans but the latter were detained in the east of Europe, and some years elapsed before they appeared in the western parts with the Cimbri The Romans sent an army under the consul Cn Papirius Carbo to protect the passes of the Alps The Cimbri had promised not to commit any hostilities against the friends of Rome, but they were, nevertheless, treacherously attacked by the consul in the neighbourhood of Norea. His conduct received its merited punishment, for he was completely defeated. The Cimbri, however, who seem to have fought alone on that occasion, did not follow up their victory by invading Italy, but turned towards Helvetia, where they were joined by the Tigurini and Ambrones They then threw themselves upon Gaul like an immense horde of nomades, their women and children being carried

in a large number of wagons The Belgæ alone were brave and powerful enough to resist them From thence the barbarians again turned southward, towards the Roman province of Gaul, where they were met, in B C 109, by the consul M Junius Silanus The Cimbri sent an embassy to his camp and thence to Rome, praying that the Romans would assign them a country to live in, and promising to assist them whenever it might be required As their petition was rejected, they attacked Silanus and defeated him The consul L Cassius Longinus, in B C 107, was equally unfortunate in the neighbourhood of the lake of Geneva, for he lost his army and his life Defeat thus followed after defeat, and the Romans were unable to protect the Gauls, most of whose towns were taken and destroyed by the invaders In B C 105, the proconsul Q Servilius Caepio undertook the command of an army in Gaul He ordered the town of Tolosa, which was very rich and had gone over to the Cimbri, to be plundered, and made immense booty Another army, under the consul Cn Manlius Maximus, occupied the country on the left of the river Rhone he was unable to unite his forces with those of Caepio, who, from jealousy, and a desire not to share his laurels with the consul, kept his camp at a distance At length however, when the legate M Aurelius Scaurus had been taken and killed by the chief Boiorix, Caepio approached the Rhone A battle was then fought in which Rome suffered a severer defeat than any she had yet sustained in this war The two consular armies were completely annihilated 80,000 soldiers and 40,000 camp followers are said to have been slain Caepio himself, to whose conduct the calamity was justly ascribed, escaped with ten men across the Rhone The Roman people deprived him of his imperium, and many years afterwards condemned him to death and confiscated his property The Cimbri destroyed all the booty they took, and hung the captive Romans on trees, but as their only object was to establish themselves somewhere they did not follow up their victory

All Italy, however, trembled as in the days of Hannibal, for it

was expected that this formidable host would forthwith come down upon Italy No one ventured to offer himself for the consulship and C Marius again was the only man to whom the whole republic looked with confidence even his political opponents seeing that the very existence of the republic was at stake supported his elevation and though he had not yet returned from Numidia, he was in his absence raised to the consulship for the year B C 104 The same dignity was conferred upon him in the three following years In the meantime fortunately for Italy the Cimbri after their victory did not cross the Alps but went to Spain, which they traversed for a few years committing as great ravages as the Vandals did at a much later time The Celtiberians however successfully resisted them in their towns In B C 102 the Cimbri returned to Gaul, where in the meantime the Teutoni also had arrived and both seem now to have resolved upon invading Italy

Marius after being raised to the consulship devoted nearly all his time to making preparations for the war He created and trained an entirely new army which for the most part consisted of the populace and the veterans whom he had brought back from Africa When the Cimbri returned to Gaul he was already there with his new army and had exercised his men on the very ground on which they were to meet the enemy He accustomed his men to the greatest hardships and many perished under them but the survivors were excellent soldiers The Cimbri marched towards Noricum to invade Italy from that quarter and the consul Q Lutatius Catulus was sent in the direction of Trent to meet them The Teutoni remained in Gaul Marius we know not why retreating before them, and they passing by his camp jeered and mocked the Romans But when they arrived on the river Argenteus they found that Marius had already reached its banks by a different road He pitched his camp perhaps intentionally in such a manner that the soldiers could not go out to provide themselves with water except under arms The skirmishes to which this circumstance

gave rise led to a decisive battle in the neighbourhood of Aquae Sextiae (Aix), which lasted for two days The skill and foresight of Marius, and the hot summer days which the barbarians were unable to endure, caused their complete defeat on the second day They retreated to their wagons, but could not maintain their ground, and the whole nation was literally annihilated, for the survivors made away with themselves Their king was taken prisoner Just as Marius was offering up a sacrifice to testify his gratitude to the gods for this victory, messengers arrived from Rome to inform him that he had been elected consul for the fifth time, for B C 101

Half the danger was now removed, but just at this time the Cimbri were descending from the Raetian Alps into the valley of the Adige They poured in upon the country like a torrent, and Lutatius Catulus being unable to resist them was obliged to retreat even beyond the Po, and leave the towns north of the river to their fate. The Cimbri for a time spread over the plains of Lombardy, ravaging the country in a frightful manner Marius who had heard of the perilous position of his late colleague hastened from Gaul to Italy, and joined his army to that of Catulus In a place called the Campi Raudii, either near Verona or Vercellae he drew up his forces in battle array The front lines of the Cimbri are said to have been bound together with chains so as to form an impregnable wall while Marius placed his lines in such a position that the sun and the wind were against the barbarians The great battle was fought on the 30th of July B C 101 the fate of the Cimbri was the same as that of the Teutoni 14 000 are said to have fallen on the field of battle and 60,000 to have been taken prisoners, who were afterwards sold as slaves A small band of the Cimbri and Teutoni the only survivors of the barbarians, had taken up their abode on the Meuse in the neighbourhood of Namur, where half a century later they were found by Julius Caesar[1] Marius celebrated his victories in a most magnificent triumph

[1] Caesar, *De Bell Gall* ii 29

By bribes which he distributed among the people he now gained the consulship for the sixth time an honour perhaps never before conferred on any Roman The height on which he now stood made him giddy and overbearing and it would have been better for his fame as well as for his country if he had died on the day of his triumph

At the time when Marius was engaged in Gaul against the Teutoni a second servile war broke out in Sicily Some symptoms of the danger arising from too large a slave population had been manifested before in Campania but in B C 102 the avarice of the praetor P Licinius Nerva, brought the matter to a crisis in Sicily He manumitted all the slaves in the island who were natives of a Roman province but compelled those who were born in other countries to remain in their wretched condition The latter therefore attempted to break their chains by force The frightful and destructive war which now broke out lasted for nearly four years from B C 102 to B C 99 Two praetorian armies under L Lucullus and P Servilius Casca were successively defeated by the slaves among whom Tryphon and afterwards Athenion were proclaimed kings In B C 101 the consul M Aquilius was sent to Sicily to quell the insurrection. He fought with great success and continued his command during the following year also but was unable to bring the war to a close until B C 99 when Satyrus the last leader of the slaves had fallen

Marius who on account of his recent great victories was called the third founder of Rome now went beyond the bounds of both law and sacred customs His irritable temperament was constantly provoked by the aristocracy which is the only thing that can be said in his excuse Even after the battle against the Cimbri he of his own authority gave the Roman franchise to 1000 of the inhabitants of Camerinum in Umbria, to reward them for their bravery declaring that in the din of war the laws could not be heard On his return to Rome the popular party had gained considerable strength In B C 101 the tribune

L. Cassius Longinus had carried several laws with a view of curtailing the power of the senate, and in the same year Cn. Domitius enacted that all vacancies in the priestly colleges should be filled up by the lesser half of the people, that is, by seventeen out of the thirty five tribes, whereas before this time each priestly college had itself filled up the vacancies that occurred in it. It is in general a peculiar sign of these times that whoever aspired to the great offices of the republic began his career by courting the favour of the multitude, and after he had gained his object he joined the party of the optimates. Marius, in order to strengthen himself in his sixth consulship, formed connexions with two most turbulent and unprincipled demagogues the tribune L. Appuleius Saturninus and the praetor C. Servilius Glaucia. Saturninus belonged to a noble plebeian family, but was one of the worst knaves that Rome ever produced, and comparable only to such beings as Catiline and Robespierre. For misconduct he had been deprived of the *quaestura Ostiensis*, an office connected with the providing of corn for the Roman granaries. Notwithstanding the justice of his deposition, he afterwards contrived to gain the tribuneship, and in B.C. 101 he offered himself again as a candidate for that office, in order to have an opportunity with the assistance of his friend Marius, of taking vengeance on the senate. A person of the name of A. Nonius was his competitor, but Saturninus so much incited the people against him, that the man was murdered in the forum by the populace in broad daylight. After having got the tribuneship by violence, he entered upon an extensive system of legislation, beginning with an agrarian law, which he carried by main force and which enacted that the lands recently conquered in Gaul and other countries should be divided among the people, and that each veteran of Marius should receive one thousand jugera in Africa. He further demanded that the senate should pledge itself by an oath to this law, even before it had been passed by the assembly, and that *any* senator refusing to take the oath should be excluded from the senate and pay a fine

of twenty talents Metellus Numidicus was the only senator who had courage enough to refuse and he went into voluntary exile A second law decreed the foundation of a certain number of colonies in each of which Marius was to have the right of naming three individuals who were to have the Roman franchise a third had for its object to win the populace by the distribution of corn

These and several other legislative measures were brought forward by Saturninus, and the year passed away amid the greatest atrocities When the time for the elections drew near, he endeavoured to obtain for himself the tribuneship a third time and for his associate Servilius Glaucia the consulship C Memmius who came forward as a competitor of Glaucia was murdered at the instigation of Saturninus This and many other excesses of his party at length induced Marius to renounce his connexion with Saturninus and to resolve to protect the republic against their mad and furious proceedings The consequence was that neither Saturninus nor Glaucia was elected, but the disturbances were so great that the senate called upon Marius to save the republic, which he honestly did He forthwith called the citizens to arms, and Saturninus and his associates were besieged on the Capitoline hill where they had taken refuge The want of water after some time compelled them to surrender at discretion Saturninus Glaucia, and all their accomplices were put to death by the command of Marius This act of justice reconciled the minds of all to Marius who was further generous enough to allow Metellus to be recalled from exile He then retired to the station of a private person and went to Asia The year B C 100 is further remarkable as the one in which C Julius Caesar was born on the 12th of July

After these disturbances there followed a period of recovery though not of peace for the sources of the disease were not removed as every one must have seen though the great mass of the people lived on heedlessly and carelessly The two questions which had now become of the utmost importance and

which could not be evaded were those relating to the courts of justice in which cases of a public character were tried—and to the franchise or emancipation of the Italian allies With regard to the former, it has been already observed that the equites, who now formed those courts were become as corrupt as the senators had been before The publicani, or farmers of the public revenues in the provinces, generally belonged to the class of the equites and they and their agents extorted from the provincials the most exorbitant sums which they did with the greater impunity, as all the actions brought against them for extortion were decided by their own colleagues at Rome, and as a matter of course always in their own favour Moreover there had sprung up among the equites a jealousy and a bitter hatred of the senate and of the governors of provinces some of whom, such as Q Mucius Scaevola and P Rutilius, were honest enough to protect the provincials against the avarice of the publicani who acted like privileged robbers All attempts of the provincials to have justice done to them were of no avail At length the eloquent and talented tribune M Livius Drusus in B C 91 devised a plan of remedying the evil by a law which ordained that 300 equites should be chosen into the senate, and that out of the body of 600 half of whom were senators and half equites, the judices or jury for each case should be taken But this measure was as offensive to the senate as to the equites for the former thought it degrading that they should thus be put on an equality with the equites—and the latter in addition to being deprived of a privilege of which they had before possessed the exclusive enjoyment had reason to fear an investigation into their scandalous proceedings Drusus thus gained no thanks for his trouble He contemplated and perhaps even carried several other measures in one of which he demanded the franchise for the Italians but before his tribuneship came to its close he was assassinated in his own house, and the senate repealed all his laws Every one at Rome saw the necessity of emancipating the Italians and at times the Romans were willing to make the con

cession, but as soon as private interests and feelings were consulted, they again shrunk back The refusal of the senate, and more especially the murder of Livius Drusus, was a signal for the Italians to demand by force of arms what they could not obtain in a constitutional way

Before proceeding to give an account of the war to which these circumstances gave rise, let us cast a glance at the foreign relations of Rome at this time. Notwithstanding her internal shocks and convulsions, the policy of Rome in reference to foreign countries continued to be the same as before Roman ambassadors were watchful everywhere, especially in Asia, where they interfered in the disputes between nations and kings. Thus Sulla, who was sent, in B C 92, to receive an embassy of Arsaces, king of the Parthians (it was the first transaction in which Rome had been engaged with the Parthians), restored Ariobarzanes who had been expelled from his kingdom of Cappadocia, and drove his opponent Gordias from the country In B C 96, Ptolemaeus Apion, the last king of Cyrenaica in Africa, died, and, probably not without some insinuations of the Romans themselves, bequeathed his flourishing kingdom to the senate and people of Rome The senate, however, was liberal enough to allow the Cyrenaeans, at least for a time, the enjoyment of freedom and independence

CHAPTER XXVII

THE SOCIAL OR MARSIC WAR.

THE time which now broke in upon Italy brought greater sufferings upon the country than any of the previous wars that of even Hannibal scarcely excepted. Rome herself had fully deserved the calamities with which she was visited by refusing in proper time to grant what was fairly demanded and could not justly be withheld In early times she had followed the system of gradually extending the franchise as a reward for neighbouring places which had rendered her good service and in this manner the thirty five local tribes had been made up But that system ceased about the end of the first Punic war had it been followed up matters would never have come to the point at which we now find them and Rome and Italy would have been spared a war in which the flower of their population perished

Many Italians formerly resided at Rome and though not legally yet gradually and silently had been allowed to live and act as Roman citizens All at once in B C 95 just at the time when the Italians demanded to be emancipated, the consul L Licinius Crassus and the pontifex maximus Q Mucius Scaevola, carried a law ordering all those who had usurped the privileges of Roman citizens to cease exercising them and to conduct themselves as citizens of the communities to which they respectively belonged—that is as aliens resident at Rome[1] The feelings which this law excited may easily be imagined Three years later Livius Drusus undertook the dangerous part of a mediator

[1] Ascon. *in Cornel* p 67 ed Orelli Cicero *De Off* iii. 11 *pro Balb* 21 24

between Rome and the Italians: the enthusiasm of the latter for him was so great, that they swore an oath of allegiance to him, in which they pledged themselves to obey him unconditionally, and promised to induce others to do the same.[2] His greatest opponent was the consul, L. Marcius Philippus, who, by constantly irritating him, drove him to extremes. The assassination of Drusus, which we mentioned above, threw the Italians into a state of the greatest excitement: all their hopes were blighted, and there was no one left to whom they could look up with confidence. The ill-will against them was very general at Rome, where they were looked upon as rebels; but the better part of the population, including the senate, saw the necessity of concession, and may be said to have taken up the views of Livius Drusus: the equites on the contrary, from their hatred of the senate, did not scruple to make common cause with the rabble, who thought it a disgrace that the Italians should be placed on an equality with themselves, and instead of trying to avert the storm, they threw themselves right in its way. They made use of the tribune, Q. Varius, who, in spite of the intercession of his colleagues, carried a law by main force, (for the populace appeared in the forum in arms,) by which a commission was appointed to inquire who had had any communication with the allies touching their emancipation. This enactment occasioned a great many law-suits; and several distinguished senators were condemned. But the Italians had, in the meantime, made their preparations, and were already in arms. This war, usually called the Social or Marsic war, broke out in B.C. 90, and lasted till B.C. 88.

The Italian nations, which had gradually formed themselves into a confederacy, determined either to gain the franchise, or to raze Rome to the ground and establish a republic embracing the whole peninsula, were the Picenl, Vestinians, Marrucinians, Marsians, Pelignians, Samnites, Frentanians, Hirpanians, Lucanians, and Apulians. The Latins, the Latin colonies throughout Italy, the Etruscans, Umbrians, and Campanians, fortunately for Rome, did

[2] Diodor. *Excerpt. Vat.*, p. 123, ed. Dindorf.

not join the confederacy, and remained quiet. The deputies of the revolted nations held a meeting at Asculum, whither the praetor Servilius Caepio and his legate Fontems went to remonstrate with them, and to persuade them to disperse and keep the peace, but both the praetor and his legate were murdered in the theatre at Asculum, and the exasperation of the people rose to such a pitch, that all the Romans who happened to be in the place were put to death. The insurrection spread more and more, though it was not everywhere accompanied by the same atrocities as at Asculum. The confederates declared that all Italy should form one republic, with Corfinium for its capital under the name of Italica and that Rome should be destroyed. The new republic was to have a senate of 500 members, two annual consuls and twelve praetors. The first consuls were Silo Popaedius a Marsian, one of the principal instigators of the war, and C. Papius Mutilus a Samnite who like all his countrymen cherished a most implacable hatred of the Romans. The commanders on both sides were equally great, so also were the exertions which they made and the passions by which they were animated.

The Roman consuls of the year B.C. 90 L. Julius Caesar and P. Rutilius Lupus who took the field against the Italians were unfortunate, and the advantage was decidedly on the part of the allies. Rutilius Lupus fell in a battle against the Marsians but the legates Sulla and Marius were more successful and the latter put the Marsians to flight. The only thing which saved Rome was in fact the Latin colonies remaining faithful to her, and in order to secure the continuance of their attachment the Romans granted the franchise to all the Latins by the celebrated Julian law which was proposed and carried by the consul L. Julius Caesar. This law applied to all Latium and to all the Latin colonies both within and without Italy, but it had no reference as some have supposed to any of the other Italian allies. This prudent concession greatly increased the Roman armies which in point of number seem now to have surpassed the forces of the allies. These colonies scattered as they were

all over Italy and forming strong garrisons, tore the enemy's territories asunder, and obliged the Italians to leave troops behind them in all parts whereby their strength was broken

In order to comprehend the operations of this war, it is necessary to divide Italy into three great sections, each of which was the scene of a distinct war The first, or southern part, extended as far as the river Liris in Campania, the second or middle portion extended from the river Liris to the frontiers of Picenum, and the northern consisted of Picenum itself The consul Cn Pompeius Strabo, B C 89, was the first Roman who gained any decisive advantages he defeated the Marsians and Vestinians, and met an army of the confederates, 70,000 in number, in a great battle at Asculum, where he completely overcame them. The town was taken by the sword and destroyed, and the fate of its inhabitants was dreadful. Pompeius Strabo then advanced southward and some of the allies submitted to him The Roman army in the south was commanded by L Julius Caesar and was opposed to that of C Papius Mutilus, who, after the conquest of several towns transferred the war into Campania, where it became concentrated about Acerrae But there the Romans gained no great vantages The army in middle Italy under the command of Marius and Sulla, who subdued some tribes and took Stabiae, was opposed by that of Popaedius Silo, who fell in the battle of Teanum, in the third year of the war, B C 88 The Italians appear to have been but loosely united among each other, and one nation after another concluded a separate peace for itself with Rome, either because they could not agree among themselves or because they were jealous of one another Thus the Vestinians and Peligmans submitted to Pompeius and the Marsians also sued for peace so that in the end only the Samnites and some Lucanians remained in arms The Umbrians and Etruscans, who had began to stir were easily pacified, and forthwith received the Roman franchise The Samnites, however, continued the war with the same vigour and perseverance as in former times, and refused to listen to any proposal of

peace they remained in arms, and afterwards, in the civil war between Sulla and Marius they joined the latter The dangerous enmity between these two powerful rivals, and the hostile proceedings of Mithridates in the east, made the Romans anxious to bring the war to a close, they accordingly promised the franchise to all those who laid down their arms The war was thus concluded The accounts of it which have come down to us are very meagre and unsatisfactory, but we may judge of its character from the result, for Velleius Paterculus tells us that in it Italy lost no less than 300 000 of her sons and many once flourishing towns were changed into heaps of ruins

In the second year of the war B C 89, M Plautius Silvanus and C Papirius Carbo had carried a law granting the franchise to the citizens of all confederate towns in Italy, who being at the time domiciled in Italy should send in their names to the praetor within sixty days, and in the same year Pompeius Strabo carried another law, which conferred the Latin franchise upon all the inhabitants of the country between the Alps and the Po The Transpadani thus stept into the relation in which hitherto the Latins had been held and persons who were invested with a magistracy in any of their towns thereby acquired the privileges of Roman citizens The great question now was in what manner the new citizens should be incorporated with the Roman state? Were they to be distributed among the thirty five existing tribes? or were they to be formed into new and separate tribes? The former plan was proposed but rejected because it would have been unfair towards the old tribes whose members would have been surpassed in numbers by the new citizens and who would accordingly have been outvoted by them on every occasion The new citizens therefore, were formed into new tribes the number of which is uncertain some say ten and others eight and some historians conjecture that their number was fifteen, so that the total number of tribes now would have amounted to fifty The new tribes were not allowed to vote in the assembly till the thirty five old ones had given their votes so that in reality the influence of the new citizens was not very great

CHAPTER XXVIII

THE FIRST WAR AGAINST MITHRIDATES.—CIVIL WAR BETWEEN MARIUS AND SULLA.—SULLA'S DICTATORSHIP, LEGISLATION, AND ABDICATION.—SECOND WAR AGAINST MITHRIDATES.

MITHRIDATES VI, surnamed Eupator, whose father had rendered the Romans considerable assistance in their war against the pretender Aristonicus, was now king of Pontus, in the north-east of Asia Minor He was a man of great mind, and one of the ablest generals of antiquity When he was yet very young the Romans deprived him of Phrygia, which, it was said, they had given to his father as a reward for his services, but which in reality he had purchased at Rome with his own money The young king at the time made no remonstrance, but quietly strengthened himself, and extended his kingdom as far as he could without coming into contact with the Romans The latter did not interfere with his proceedings, because they were engaged in Italy with their own allies but they nevertheless, kept a sharp eye upon all his doings About the end of the Social war, the last member of the royal family of Cappadocia died, and Mithridates gave the kingdom to Ariarathes, one of his own kinsmen hereupon the Romans stirred up Nicomedes, king of Bithynia, to attack Mithridates, but Nicomedes was defeated, and Mithridates placed the brother of the defeated king on the throne of Bithynia The Romans now openly interfered, and spoke to Mithridates in a tone as if he had committed an unjustifiable offence They forthwith raised three armies in Asia Minor, which were formed of the effeminate and unwarlike inhabitants of that country They were unable to cope with the well disciplined troops of the king, and were defeated Mithridates

now advanced westward, meeting with scarcely any resistance, for the king being one who had himself received a Greek education was everywhere welcomed by the Greeks as their deliverer from the oppressive yoke of the Romans On one day no less than 80,000 Romans and Italians, who were living in the various towns of Asia Minor, are said to have been put to death by the command of Mithridates, immediately after which his general Archelaus, in B C 88, led a large army into Macedonia and Greece, where most of the important towns, and among them Thebes and Athens, threw their gates open to him with the same readiness that the Asiatic Greeks had received Mithridates himself

The massacre of the Romans called for vengeance, and as by the invasion of Greece Italy itself was threatened, the senate determined to give the command in the impending war to L Cornelius Sulla who had greatly distinguished himself in the Social war by his prudence as well as his courage, and who had gained the favour of the people by splendid games and donations C Marius, the deliverer of Italy, and once the idol of the people, was now a man of seventy, and seemed to be forgotten But his ambition, his hatred of the aristocratic party, and his jealousy of Sulla were as strong as ever and being anxious himself to gain laurels in so great a war as that against Mithridates, he resolved to try whether he could not deprive Sulla of the command which had been intrusted to him With this view he entered into a connection with the bold and cunning tribune, P Sulpicius, who surrounded by a body of 3000 gladiators, whom he used to call his anti senate carried a law by which the new citizens and the libertini were distributed among the thirty five old tribes [1] By the overwhelming influence which they thus obtained in the comitia and by violence, another law was passed, appointing C Marius commander in the war against Mithridates [2] This was an act of glaring injustice, which naturally exasperated Sulla in

[1] Liv *Epit* 77, Appian, *De Bell Civ* i 55

[2] Livy and Appian, l c Vell Pat ii 18

the highest degree While these things happened at Rome Sulla was stationed with an army at Nola in Campania against the Samnites who were still holding out and with whom he was anxious to bring the war to a close previous to his setting out for Greece When he was apprised of the proceedings of Marius and Sulpicius he at once marched with six of his legions against Rome, where no one was prepared to meet him for nobody had expected that he would act in so resolute a manner When he appeared the gates were immediately closed against him but both the gates and the walls had been allowed to decay as the possibility of an enemy appearing before them had not been thought of since the days of Hannibal and accordingly Sulla without much difficulty entered the city with two legions He and his soldiers were received with showers of stones and other missiles which were thrown down upon them from the roofs of the houses But he succeeded in putting his enemies to flight, and marching down to the forum made a very generous use of his victory for after the Marian party was driven out of the city, only Marius and his son with P Sulpicius and nine other ring leaders of their party were outlawed the rest of the people being spared Marius fled first to Ostia, and thence along the sea-coast to Minturnae where he was found concealed in the marshes and then thrown into prison No one, however had the courage to put him to death, and the magistrates of Minturnae, therefore sent a public slave into the prison to kill him but as the barbarian approached the hoary warrior his courage failed him and the Minturnians moved by compassion, put Marius on board a boat and transported him to Africa, where for a time he remained quiet anxiously watching the course of events at Rome

Sulla was so far from taking any further vengeance during the short time he spent at Rome that he even allowed L. Cornelius Cinna, a partisan of Marius to be elected to the consulship for the year B C 87 along with his own friend, Cn. Octavius. It may be that Sulla was deceived in the character and sentiments of Cinna, but it is also possible that he permitted his appoint

ment with the view of sowing the seeds of new discord, of which he hoped to receive the benefit after his return from the Mithridatic war. In B.C. 87, soon after the new consuls had entered upon their office, Sulla, as proconsul went with his army to Greece, while Q. Pompeius Rufus, who had been Sulla's colleague in the consulship, received Italy as his province, with orders to conduct the war against the Samnites, to counteract Cinna, and co-operate with Cn. Octavius. Cn. Pompeius, the father of Pompey the Great, who was at this time commanding an army in Apulia against the Samnites, now received orders from the senate to give up his army to Q. Pompeius Rufus; but instead of doing this, he secretly incited his troops against him, so that while Q. Pompeius was administering the military oath to the soldiers he was murdered by them. Cn. Pompeius, as if he had been innocent, assumed the appearance of investigating the matter, but of course soon forgot all about it, and retained the command against the Samnites, who through the absence of Sulla gained some breathing time.

On Sulla's arrival in Greece, Boeotia submitted to him as easily as it had before submitted to the Pontian general; he then entered Attica, sending a part of his army to lay siege to the city of Athens, while he with the main body of his troops began to blockade Piraeus, within the walls of which Archelaus retreated on the approach of Sulla. The besieged defended themselves with great skill and resolution, and the Romans could make no impression upon them; but in the spring of the year B.C. 86 Sulla used all means which he had at his command. Athens was blockaded, and all provisions cut off, so that the famine in the city reached a fearful height. Athens was at length taken by assault, and soon after this Archelaus, despairing of success, escaped from Piraeus, leaving the place to its own fate. The famished Athenians were pardoned for their ancestors' sake, for Sulla was a great admirer of Greek art and literature, but their city was plundered, and many of the most precious treasures were sent to Rome, among them was the library of Apellico, which

is said to have contained the only complete copy of Aristotle's works After the greater part of Piraeus had been destroyed by fire, Sulla set out in pursuit of Archelaus who had in the mean time collected the scattered forces of Mithridates in the north of Greece In the neighbourhood of Chaeronea in Boeotia Archelaus was completely defeated in B C 85 he then fled to Chalcis in Euboea, whither Sulla who had no fleet was unable to follow him When Mithridates was informed of his reverses in Greece he sent strong reinforcements and Archelaus thus strengthened returned to Boeotia to wipe off the disgrace of his former defeat In the neighbourhood of Orchomenos the hostile armies again met and a second battle was fought in which Sulla's undaunted personal courage alone decided the victory To prevent the enemy again escaping to Chalcis Sulla attempted to cut off his retreat but Archelaus nevertheless succeeded in crossing the Euripus Mithridates who had himself to sustain hard struggles with the Romans in Asia began to lose confidence, and ordered Archelaus to negotiate for peace and to conclude it on any terms he could Sulla accepted the proposals the more willingly as during his absence things had taken place at Rome which rendered it most desirable for him to bring the war to a close The negotiations however were protracted for a long time during which Sulla undertook a successful expedition against some barbarians in Thrace who had infested the Roman province of Macedonia and peace was not finally concluded and signed by Mithridates till B C 84 when Sulla had an interview with the king at Dardanus in Troas Mithridates surrendered his whole fleet restored all the Roman prisoners and deserters withdrew his garrisons from all places in Greece paid all the expenses of the war and was confined to his own kingdom of Pontus Thus Mithridates after having made most enormous exertions was reduced to the position which he had occupied before the outbreak of the war Owing to the internal disturbances at Rome or more probably to the dishonesty of the senate the peace with Sulla was never formally sanctioned.

In B C 87, immediately after entering upon his consulship, Cinna had come forward as the head of the Marian party at Rome, and carried a law that the persons outlawed by Sulla should be recalled In order to win the favour of the new citizens, he promised them to carry into effect the law of Sulpicius, according to which they and the libertini were to be distributed among the 35 old tribes Great numbers of the new citizens accordingly flocked to Rome to support his measures but his colleague Cn Octavius came forward against him, and a fierce struggle arose within the city, in which Cinna was defeated and driven out of its walls The senate then issued a proclamation that Cinna had forfeited his consular dignity A Roman army was at the time still stationed in the neighbourhood of Nola to check the Samnites, and thither Cinna now repaired The soldiers who had only the year before been led by Sulla against Rome, and were then made aware that the fate of the republic rested in reality in their hands, took up his cause, and requested him to take the consular ensigns and lead them to Rome Marius and his fellow-exiles, who were recalled, landed in the meantime in Etruria, and began to collect an army, in which every one was enlisted that was ready to fight for Marius, freemen as well as citizens, even slaves were promised their freedom if they would join his standard The aged captain, after his return from exile, had the sympathy of the greater part of the people on his side, and numbers took up arms for him Foremost among them were Papirius Carbo who joined the army of Cinna, and Q Sertorius who commanded an army by himself Sertorius was the best and noblest of all the men engaged in this struggle he joined the Marian party only on account of his abhorrence of the ruling faction for he had no share in the tyrannical sentiments of his party The city was defended by Cn Octavius and Cn Pompeius who had been called away from Apulia, but as they were attacked by three armies at once there was little hope of their success Cn Pompeius, who had rendered him

self odious to every one, died of an epidemic disease[3] which broke out at the time and carried off thousands on both sides Many of the Latin towns were taken and destroyed by the army under Cinna, and Rome being surrounded on all sides began to suffer from famine. The senate at last was obliged to negotiate, and to submit to all the terms that Marius prescribed. Cinna was accordingly re instated in his consular dignity, and the gates were thrown open on the understanding that no blood should be shed, but no sooner had the rebels entered the city than famished and unhappy Rome became the scene of the most frightful outrages, of plunder, murder, and violence of every kind All were cut down whom Marius marked as his victims, and no mercy was shown All of the Sullanian party who were unable to escape were put to death, or made away with themselves in order not to fall into the hands of their enemies, and many also fell by the hands of the infuriated multitude and slaves, who massacred indiscriminately Among the illustrious victims in whose blood Marius quenched his thirst for five days, we may mention the consul Cn. Octavius, the orator M Antonius, C Julius Cæsar, and Q Lutatius Catulus, one of the most estimable men of his age the flamen Dialis, L. Cornelius Merula, who had been made consul in Cinna's place, killed himself to death in the vestibule of the Capitoline temple The butchery was carried to so enormous an extent by a band of liberated slaves whom Marius kept for the purpose of despatching his enemies that even Cinna could bear it no longer, and on the advice of Sertorius ordered all of them to be put to death.

After these scenes of terror, Marius caused himself to be made consul for the seventh, and Cinna for the second time Marius always believed that he was destined by fate to be invested with the consul h p seven times for when yet a child, an eagle's nest with seven young ones had fallen from a tree into his lap, and some soothsayer had told him that the seven young eagles were

[3] Some state that he was killed by a flash of lightning

a sign that he would be consul seven times But a few days after he had entered on his seventh consulship he died on the 13th of January, B C 86 He was succeeded by L Valerius Flaccus, who was forthwith commissioned to undertake the command of the war against Mithridates The war against the Samnites had been concluded the year before by Q Metellus, for at the time when Cinna was marching towards Rome, the senate ordered Metellus to conclude peace with them on whatever terms he could Peace therefore was restored on condition that the Samnites should receive the Roman franchise

All Italy now was in the hands of Cinna L Valerius Flaccus, after his elevation to the consulship proceeded to Asia to take the command against Mithridates out of the hands of Sulla, but as he was unpopular among his own soldiers, on account of his cruelty and avarice many of his men deserted to Sulla and he himself was murdered at Nicomedia by his own legate C Flavius Fimbria who now placed himself at the head of his army and traversed Asia Fimbria defeated several of the generals of Mithridates and among them the king's own son and then took possession of Pergamus Ilium which had declared in favour of Sulla, was next taken and destroyed and he maintained himself in its neighbourhood until the arrival of Sulla in Asia who concluded peace with the king of Pontus in B C 84 When his own affairs were settled with Mithridates Sulla set out against Fimbria who was encamped near Thyatira He surrounded his enemy's camp and gained over his whole army, whereupon Fimbria in despair put an end to his own existence When the field was thus cleared of enemies Sulla set about regulating the affairs of Asia The cities in which the Romans had been murdered by the command of Mithridates he punished most severely they were compelled to pay down at once 20 000 talents, the raising of which threw them completely into the merciless hands of the insatiable Roman capitalists and usurers, who sucked the very blood out of the country in which proceedings they were assisted by the Roman soldiers Asia was so much crushed by

deprive of their newly acquired privileges, went over to him He found Norbanus encamped in the neighbourhood of Capua, and defeated him He then turned against Scipio, whose whole army deserted to him, and Scipio himself at last also declared in his favour While Sulla was thus gaining a firm footing in southern Italy, many of his supporters took up arms in other parts of the country, among whom were Metellus Pius, Cn Pompey in Picenum and M Lucullus, and his party was victorious everywhere At Rome the Capitoline temple, through the carelessness of the keepers, became a prey to the flames

In B C 82, the second year of the war, C Marius the younger was consul with Papirius Carbo, who had the command in the north of Italy against Metellus, Pompey, and Lucullus, while Marius was stationed with his army on the frontier of Latium In the vicinity of Sacriportus, Marius was attacked by Sulla and beaten, and many of his troops deserted to the conqueror, while Marius himself escaped to Praeneste, a large and strongly fortified town Sulla followed him and blockaded the place, but soon left the management of the siege to Lucretius Ofella, and went to take possession of Rome which was yet in the hands of the Marian party Under the guidance of the praetor, L Junius Damasippus, the democrats at Rome had instituted a cruel massacre among those who were favourable to Sulla or were believed to be so, and at the time of the battle of Sacriportus, Damasippus killed in the Curia Hostilia the great jurist and chief pontiff Mucius Scaevola, with C Carbo, the brother of the consul, and many other distinguished senators The perpetrators of these horrors now fled, and Sulla entered the city The consul Carbo, who had an army in Etruria in vain endeavoured to relieve Praeneste another attempt was made by the Samnite general Pontius Telesinus, but as he was unable to effect anything, he turned towards Rome, which he hoped to take by surprise Sulla was informed in time of his movements, and a battle was fought on the 1st of November at the very walls of Rome, near the Colline gate The Samnites fought with the courage of despair, but

after a whole day's struggle they were defeated so completely that Pontius Telesinus made away with himself In him Marius lost his last hope he attempted to escape from Praeneste by a subterraneous passage, but being discovered he killed himself, and Carbo, being left alone, abandoned his army and fled to Sicily Sulla now saw Italy cleared of all his enemies, and only a few towns continued to offer him any resistance

The manner in which Sulla made use of his victory filled Rome and Italy with horrors more appalling than any they had yet witnessed In the battle of the Colline gate 8000 Samnites had been taken prisoners, all of whom were massacred by his command in the circus After the death of Marius, Praeneste was obliged to surrender at discretion to Lucretius Ofella, and all persons who were found in the place, with the exception of the Roman citizens, were put to the sword. The Etruscan towns which had supported Carbo surrendered one after another, and most of them were razed to the ground. But the bloodshed at Rome, where Sulla acted as a perfect tyrant, was still more frightful He devised a new and unprecedented means of getting rid of his enemies he set on foot a proscription, that is, he drew up a list of all those whom he wished to be put to death, and set it up in public Any one had a right to kill those whose names were in the list, not only with impunity but rewards were offered for their heads Their estates were confiscated and sold, and in order to secure himself against their sons Sulla got a law passed by which the descendants of the proscribed were for ever to be excluded from all the offices of the republic This cruel law remained in force down to the time of C Julius Caesar It is said that no less than 1600 equites were among the proscribed who lost their lives A spirit of revenge and avarice drove the inhuman victors from one crime to another, till Q. Catulus found it necessary to ask Sulla whether he meant to spare any human being at all, and to remind him that if he went on in the same way, there would be in the end no one left to rule over Catiline was one of the monsters who in these days obtained notoriety

for murder and assassination and thus acquired a taste for the crimes which he afterwards committed when he planned the destruction of his own country

Rome had not seen a dictator for the last 120 years, but the interrex L Valerius Flaccus now carried a decree by which all the past acts of Sulla were sanctioned, and Sulla himself was appointed dictator with unlimited power for an indefinite period, that he might reform the constitution and the law Invested with such powers he began, in B C 81, his course of legislation, having previously made some alterations of minor importance First of all he was anxious to show his gratitude to those to whom he owed the position he now occupied Twenty three legions accordingly had colonies assigned to them in Italy, that is, these legions were dismissed from service and each legion was constituted as the body of citizens of a certain town, the whole territory of which was given up to and parcelled out among the legionaries, if the territory was not found sufficient portions of the adjacent districts were taken and added to it The places thus made over to the soldiers as a reward for past services were called military colonies they consisted for the greater part of the estates of the proscribed of those towns which had supported the opponents of Sulla and of such districts as in former times would have become public domain It was by means of these military colonies that Sulla placed his power on a solid foundation to which he could trust under all circumstances He next conferred the Roman franchise on a body of 10 000 emancipated slaves who received from him the name of the Cornelii and were distributed among the 35 old tribes The vacancies which had occurred in the senate were notwithstanding his high aristocratic principles filled up not with members of the nobility but with equites and even with vulgar centurions, but all were ready tools in the hands of the dictator

His legislation must be divided into two branches according as it had reference either to the constitution of the republic, or to the criminal law In respect of the former, Sulla like many

other men both in ancient and modern times, had the weakness to believe that by restoring old and antiquated forms of the constitution he could also revive its spirit In this belief he began by curtailing the power of the tribunes he deprived them of the right of proposing legislative measures in the assemblies, and of holding any other magistracy after the expiration of their office The judicial and legislative power of the comitia tributa was thus likewise abolished, and they retained nothing but the election of the minor magistrates In short, the tribunician power was reduced to what it had been previous to the Publilian law, that is the tribunes became a mere protective magistracy, and the work of ages was undone There can be no doubt that the tribunes in the course of time had acquired and usurped a power which was detrimental to the safety of the republic, and it was most desirable that they should be confined within certain limits, but Sulla's reform was framed in an improper spirit, and ran counter to all the feelings of the age The consequence was, that his regulation did not last it was repealed in B C 70, by Cn Pompey A second great change, introduced by Sulla, was, the restoring power to the senators to appoint from among their own body the courts in which cases of a public nature were tried This restoration of a much coveted right ought to have indured the senators to show that in their hands justice fared better than in those of any other body of men, but we have express testimony, that, during the nine or ten years in which they formed those courts, justice was more venal, and bribery was carried on to a far greater extent, than it had ever been before The senators in fact acted as if it had been their deliberate intention to undermine their own power, till in B C 70, L Aurelius Cotta divided the courts equally between the senators and equites Sulla further increased the number of praetors to eight, that of the quaestors to twenty, and that of the two colleges of the augurs and pontiffs to fifteen each restoring to these colleges at the same time the right of filling up vacancies by *cooptatio*, that is, he gave to each college the right of filling

up any vacancy that might occur These, and some measures regulating the administration of the provinces, were the chief reforms by which he endeavoured to restore the good old times of Rome, but his labours were foolish and useless The oligarchy which he established was raised on the corpses of the democratical party, and was made for an entirely new class of citizens whom he himself had created, after having extirpated the old ones by murder and proscription. The new constitution was not rooted in the institutions of the country, it was not their natural and spontaneous offspring, obsolete forms had been artificially revived, it was a mere phantom without a soul

But whatever we may think of his constitutional reforms, his civil and criminal legislation was excellent He must have possessed a deep insight into human affairs, or have had most able advisers, for the criminal law, which had hitherto been greatly neglected, received at his hand a solid foundation, upon which all subsequent enactments in this department were based

The Cornelii, his emancipated slaves, formed his body guard, and freedmen in general were his favourites and the most influential persons in his retinue, so that it was a courageous act of Cicero, who was then only twenty seven years old, to defend Roscius of Ameria, and attack Chrysogonus one of Sulla's creatures, for persons like Chrysogonus might rob and murder with impunity, and no one could be safe against them Such was the case in Rome as well as in other parts of Italy After having made all the arrangements he thought necessary, Sulla, in B C 79, to the surprise of every one, laid down his dictatorship, and retired into the condition of a private person at Puteoli, probably for the purpose of spending the remainder of his blood-stained life in peace and luxury This step was not by any means a bold one, for in case of any emergency he had the senate, and, above all, his military colonies to fall back upon, and his opponents were crushed into the dust Before retiring, he offered to render an account of his proceedings, but this was a mere farce, for who would have dared to demand it? and how could

after the departure of Sulla, Mithridates began to feel that he had yielded too readily, and had made greater concessions than he ought to have done As, moreover, the Roman senate had never signed the peace concluded between him and Sulla, and as he had never been able to obtain its formal sanction, he refused to give up to Ariobarzanes the whole of Cappadocia as he had promised to do, keeping a part of it for himself His general, Archelaus, who perceived the change in his master's mind, deserted in B C 83 to the Romans, and prevailed upon L Murena, who had the command of the Roman forces in Asia, at once to attack the king, and not to wait till he should commence hostilities Murena accordingly marched into Cappadocia, and plundered the wealthy temple of Comana This aggression led to an open war, and a battle was fought in the vicinity of Sinope in which Murena was defeated As Mithridates showed himself willing to renew the peace with the Romans, they readily consented, and Mithridates remained in the possession of a part of Cappadocia he also engaged himself to a daughter of Ariobarzanes The peace with Rome was concluded and ratified, in B C 81, by A Gabinius, whom Sulla had sent over to Asia for the purpose

CHAPTER XXIX.

THE ATTEMPT OF AEMILIUS LEPIDUS TO RESCIND THE ACTS OF SULLA.—CN. POMPEY THE GREAT.—WAR OF SERTORIUS IN SPAIN.—SPARTACUS.—POMPEY A CONSULAR.—THE PIRATES.

Sulla by his tyrannical power, had smothered the fire which threatened the republic with destruction, but it was not extinguished and fuel for a new conflagration was not wanting. The new order of things which he had created could not long survive its author for all social relations at Rome and in Italy had been upset and the old agricultural population of those places in which military colonies were established, had been either ejected or reduced to beggary in many instances they had become the tenants of their new lords who, in their recklessness and licentiousness soon squandered their property, and were ready again to lend their arms to any one who might choose to pay them. It would have been very easy to form an army of reduced husbandmen and military desperadoes who would have been readily joined by the hungry populace of Rome and the great number of exiled citizens who were only waiting for some one to place himself at their head but the person who attempted the counter revolution had neither the talent nor the character for such an undertaking.

In the year of Sulla's death B.C. 78 the consulship was in the hands of M. Aemilius Lepidus and Q. Lutatius Catulus two men of very opposite characters and inclinations. The former though he had once belonged to the party of Sulla, and had enriched himself by it, was now become an implacable enemy of that party, and resolved to undo the work of Sulla. Lutatius Catulus on the other hand, was a staunch and faithful supporter

of the edifice raised by Sulla Lepidus made preparations to get the acts of Sulla rescinded the exiles recalled and their confiscated estates restored to them, but in order to prevent any outbreak of hostilities between the two consuls the senate made them promise on their oath not to take up arms against each other For a time this precaution had the desired effect but when Lepidus had gone into his province of Cisalpine Gaul he thought himself no longer bound by his oath and collected an army, which was joined by large numbers of Etruscans whose homes had been destroyed by Sulla, or who had been driven from their estates by the veterans of the dictator Lepidus led his troops to the very gates of Rome but was repulsed by Catulus he then fled to Sardinia, where he died the following year B C 77 M Junius Brutus attempted to support Lepidus in Gaul but was defeated by Pompey and put to death and the troops of Lepidus who maintained themselves for a time under Perperna, afterwards went with him to Spain and joined the army of Sertorius

In the meantime Rome itself was thrown into a state of the greatest excitement for the attempt of Lepidus had stirred up the tribunes who for a number of years set all their engines at work to recover the power which the reforms of Sulla had taken from them In B C 76, the tribune Cn Sicinius brought forward a rogation demanding the restoration of the tribunician power and the year following the consul C Aurelius Cotta carried a law by which the tribunes were allowed, after the expiration of their office to be invested with other magistracies In B C 74 another attempt was made to repeal all the laws of Sulla and in this manner things went on until Cn Pompey in his consulship B C 70 carried a law by which the power of the tribunes was restored exactly to what it had been before the dictatorship of Sulla[1] In the same year the praetor L Aurelius Cotta, supported by Pompey abolished Sulla's law respecting the

[1] Liv *Epit* 97 Vell Pat II 30 Pseudo-Ascon in *Cic Div* pp 103 147 Plut *Pomp* 22

formation of the courts of justice, and it was enacted that henceforth those courts should be composed of senators, equites and the tribuni aerarii.[2] These laws were carried without much opposition but especially the latter because the administration of justice had been so grossly violated that even the friends of Sulla did not venture to oppose the new measure. Pompey who had all along been a strong supporter of Sulla, thus overthrew, or helped to overthrow, the very pillars of the power of the aristocracy, but he wished for popularity and what he did was neither more nor less than what all other men did for the purpose of gaining their selfish ends and rising to honours, for, as we have already observed, men of all parties began their career by courting the favour of the people whose cause they afterwards abandoned as soon as their objects were attained. The fate of Rome for many years past had been inseparably connected with that of individuals who set themselves up as party leaders and sacrificed everything and everybody, as occasion offered, to their own love of dominion, their avarice, and ambition. Such henceforth continued to be the case, and instead of a history of Rome we now have, strictly speaking, only the history of individuals. The republic itself, from which all virtues and all sense of true patriotism, as well as the feeling of reverence for the gods had disappeared, now became an arena on which the principal men were struggling for power and influence.

Pompey who in the time of Sulla had been most wonderfully favoured by fortune, was now rising with extraordinary rapidity in popular favour. He possessed considerable talent and was animated by an insatiable ambition. There are times in which he acted with true generosity and greatness, but at others he was mean and cowardly. In his advocacy of popular rights he was not honest, his own aggrandisement being always uppermost among his motives, and he never was a sincere or trustworthy friend. Along with him were springing up many men

[2] Ascon. in *Pison.* p. 16, in *Cornel.* p. 67. Schol. Bob. p. 329.

distinguished as generals and statesmen, some of whom were far superior to him in talent and character, and all of whom were striving to reach the same goal Among them was L Licinius Lucullus, a man of excessive wealth, who enjoys the unfortunate reputation of having made his countrymen acquainted with Asiatic luxuries, in which he himself indulged very freely His gardens and buildings were objects of general admiration, even parts of the sea were changed by him into dry land or fish ponds, whence Pompey in derision called him the Roman Xerxes He was distinguished as a general, and he seems to have had a humane feeling for the provincials Another person, who likewise became proverbial for his wealth, was M Licinius Crassus, whose treasures gave him more influence than either his talent or energy But by far the greatest of all Pompey's contemporaries was C Julius Caesar, born in B C 100, and educated at Rhodes He was equally distinguished by his good fortune, his perseverance, and energy, and by the wonderful comprehensiveness of his mind, for he was no less great as an orator, a scholar, and an author, than as a statesman and a commander of armies He was a genius, in the true sense of the word, and a man of an amiable disposition, ambitious as any of his contemporaries, but free from envy and jealousy M Porcius Cato was a man of a very different kind, he had the strongest possible aversion to every kind of tyranny, his virtues were those of an ancient Roman, republican of the best times, and hence he was not fit for the age he lived in when in the end he saw that it was hopeless to try to save the republic, he perished by his own hand in a manner which has secured to him the admiration of all ages M Tullius Cicero was six years older than Caesar he was born at Arpinum The position he occupied at Rome, and the influence he exercised upon political affairs, he owed to his virtues, and to his eloquence, in which he surpassed all around him He possessed a great mind, enriched with the most varied acquirements, and was animated by a genuine love of his country and its institutions, but he was not without vanity he was naturally of a timid and wavering

character, whence he had not always resolution enough openly to declare in favour of the party or men to whom he was attached in his heart. He has often been judged of far more severely than he deserves, merely because all the circumstances amid which he lived are not sufficiently taken into consideration.

All these and a great many more talented and distinguished men, who grew up amid the storms of the republic, render the age in which they lived one of the most illustrious in the annals of the human race. They were each more or less opposed to one another, but Pompey above all possessed the art of converting to his own use a portion of the glory of each, by his cunning and intrigues, or by his boasting and violence, and on many occasions he displayed a pitiable degree of vanity and meanness even towards those who were sincerely attached to him.

In the year B.C. 82, when Sulla entered Rome and celebrated his bloody triumph, the praetor Q. Sertorius had been commissioned by his party to go with his army to Spain and there to endeavour to maintain their interests. He was joined by the remnants of the Marian party and was afterwards supported with great enthusiasm by the Lusitanians and Celtiberians. He was a native of Nursia, in the country of the Sabines, a district celebrated for the preservation of its primitive virtues and simplicity, and being a man of humble origin, he owed his reputation and distinctions to none but himself. He had the good of his country really at heart, and had joined the Marian party merely because he detested the injustice and intriguing machinations of the aristocrats. We have already seen that where justice required it he did not scruple to attack the proceedings of the leading men of his own party, and it was in this spirit that he saved Rome from the murderous hands of the freedmen of Marius. In Spain he acted on principles of kindness and humanity by which he won the affection of the Spaniard, till he was driven to cruelty by their own treachery and fickleness. In order to secure their attachment to him he afforded them relief wherever he could, and attended to their just complaints; he treated them as much

being dressed in the Roman fashion, and instructed in the Latin and Greek languages. These boys became at the same time a sort of security to him for the fidelity of the Spaniards. The enthusiasm of the Spaniards was immense, and according to a custom of the country thousands of them crowded around him vowing to live and die with him. Wherever he went he was accompanied by a white fawn, which was looked upon by the Spaniards with a superstitious reverence, and believed to have been sent to him by the gods as a mark of their favour: this circumstance also greatly enhanced their confidence in him. The feeling of attachment and admiration which his personal qualities had called forth was thus heightened by a kind of religious veneration.

In B.C. 79, Q. Caecilius Metellus Pius, as proconsul, undertook the conduct of the war against Sertorius: but he and all his lieutenants were defeated: whereupon Metellus, not daring to attack his enemy in the open field, tried to wear him out. In B.C. 77, M. Perperna, the legate of Lepidus, joined Sertorius with his army, hoping himself to act a prominent part in the war: but his men compelled him to submit to Sertorius. As Metellus was unable to make any impression upon the enemy, Cn. Pompey came with a fresh army to his assistance: but he too was beaten, in B.C. 76, in the battle of Lauro: after which several engagements took place, without anything decisive being gained by either party, though the Romans were generally worsted. Pompey petitioned the senate to send re-inforcements, and when they came in B.C. 74, he and Metellus laid siege to several fortified towns, but again without any success. In this year the third war against Mithridates broke out in consequence of an alliance concluded between Sertorius and the Pontian king, according to which the latter was to attack the Romans in the east, while Sertorius, supported by the fleet of Mithridates and by the pirates, contemplated making a descent upon Italy. But dissension among the Spaniards and the rebellious spirit of some, brought about a change in the state of affairs, by which Rome was saved. The conduct of the

Spaniards made Sertorius suspicious, and led him to acts of cruelty, one of which in particular is of such a nature that it cannot be excused, he ordered, one day, all the young Spaniards at Osca to be put to death This act alienated from him a great many Spaniards, and made the Romans in his retinue also become disaffected. Perperna, who had not been able to carry out his ambitious schemes in Spain, now wreaked his vengeance on Sertorius by forming a plot against his life, in B C 72 In order to carry his criminal plan into effect, he invited Sertorius to a banquet at Osca, and while the guests were at table, he himself and some other conspirators fell upon him and murdered him Numbers of faithful Spaniards, who had sworn not to survive him, killed themselves at the burial of their great commander Perperna, who now thought he had gained his object, placed himself at the head of the army of Sertorius, but in the first encounter with Pompey his whole army was cut to pieces, and he himself fell into the hands of his enemy and was put to death In order to save himself, Perperna had delivered up to Pompey a number of letters, in which some distinguished Romans invited Sertorius to come to Italy, but Pompey, too generous to reward such treachery, threw the letters into the fire without making any use of them Peace was thus restored in Spain, and the last remnants of the Marian party were now completely annihilated

But before the war in Spain was brought to a close, another had broken out in Italy, which threatened to become even more formidable, and was certainly far more destructive to the prosperity of Italy, for it was carried on by revolted gladiators and slaves Among the slaves scattered all over Italy, there were many thousands who had once lived in luxury, and had enjoyed a better education than their present masters, many had even distinguished themselves in the wars against the Romans Such men must have been filled with rage and indignation at their wretched and revolting condition The ablest among them were trained by their masters in certain establishments called *ludi*

gladiatorii, or gladiator-schools to amuse the Roman populace at the public games with their cruel and bloody contests in the circus. In B C 73 about seventy such gladiators, headed by Spartacus, a Thracian broke forth from a gladiator-school at Capua. Their leader was a very able man and well fitted for the daring enterprise he ventured upon They first took up their position on mount Aetna, whence they made predatory excursions for the purpose of providing themselves with arms and ammunition. When they felt strong enough they gave the signal for a general insurrection of the gladiators and slaves to whom liberty was held out as a reward and in a short time Spartacus had an army of no less than 10 000 slaves all of whom were provided with arms Spartacus had two sub-commanders of his forces Crixus and Oenomaus both Gauls, who had likewise been slaves and now took fearful vengeance upon that free population, which had kept them in bondage. The free inhabitants of Italy had been so greatly reduced in numbers in the time of Sulla, that no effectual resistance could be made against the slaves all parts of southern Italy that were visited by them, were ravaged and laid waste without mercy and many once flourishing towns were changed into heaps of ashes The consuls of the year B C 72 were completely unsuccessful and the slaves gained victory upon victory Spartacus advanced as far north as the foot of the Alps probably with the view of settling in Gaul and defeated C Cassius who had the command in Cisalpine Gaul but his hordes compelled him to go back, because they wanted to sack and plunder Rome At this moment B C 71 the praetor M. Licinius Crassus received the command against Spartacus who was marching southward with the intention of rousing the slaves in Sicily Crassus overtook Spartacus near Petilia in Lucania. A battle was fought there in which the slaves indeed raged like lions in despair, but when their leader had fallen they lost all hopes The victory of Crassus was owing more to the division of the slaves into three armies than to the skill of the Roman general. The bodies or the limbs

of the slain were impaled along the high roads in southern Italy, to strike terror into their fellow bondsmen, and only 5000 of the slaves are said to have escaped to the north of Italy There they fell in with Pompey, who was just returning from Spain, and who completely cut them to pieces The south of Italy after this war was in a most deplorable condition, for the free population was almost extirpated many towns such as Nola, Thurii, Grumentum, and many others, were entirely destroyed, and the country was cut up into a number of deserted districts, which for a long time after served only as pasture lands The south of Italy never recovered from these fearful devastations

At the time when Pompey returned from Spain he was only thirty-five years old, and had not yet been invested with any curule office But he enjoyed the highest possible popularity, which was the fruit of his reputation as a general, for he had distinguished himself in the Social war, and in the war against the Marian party in Sicily and Africa, he had brought to a close the great war against Sertorius and on his way home he had completed the victory over the slaves, thus snatching away a portion of the laurels which were in reality due to his rival Crassus He now sued for the consulship, which he received for the year B C 70 along with Crassus The jealousy and rivalry existing between these two men made the Romans tremble lest they should take up arms against each other, but, towards the end of their consulship, they were prevailed upon by the senate to make a reconciliation, which was never after disturbed Pompey from the time he entered on his consulship did everything he could to secure to himself the favour of the people it was with this object in view that he restored the power of the tribunes, and assisted L Aurelius Cotta in his regulations concerning the courts of justice By these acts, however, he naturally drew upon himself the displeasure of the party to which he belonged[3] But party interests were not listened to when they came in

[3] Pseudo-Ascon *in Cic Divin in Caecil* p. 147.

power than any Roman had ever possessed before, but the brilliant success with which his undertaking was crowned justified the expectations which the people entertained of him, and it does credit to Pompey that he did not abuse his power for the purpose of making himself a tyrant. This period is the most glorious in the whole life of Pompey. His prudence, skill, and quickness of action, are deserving of the highest praise. He had a large number of legates commanding under him, and stationed in all parts of the sea. He began his preparations towards the end of the winter, entered upon his operations in the beginning of spring, and about the middle of summer the whole Mediterranean was cleared. During the first forty days of his campaign he swept the pirates before him from the pillars of Hercules and the coast of Spain as far as Italy, and drove them from all their recesses. He then made a short stay at Rome, and in forty nine more days, as if he had drawn a net around them, he drove the pirates from Italy and Sicily into the Cilician sea, where he defeated them. Many of the pirates were taken prisoners or killed, the rest surrendered. He demolished their ships, and then landed in Cilicia, where he destroyed their strongholds. The whole campaign was finished in about three months. The submission of the pirates was owing, to a great measure, to the humane manner in which Pompey treated them, for they had, probably, been driven to their mode of life by poverty and the impossibility of gaining their living in any other way. Pompey sent them as colonists into inland towns of Asia Minor and Greece, where they had the means of living in a creditable manner and would be properly watched. The Cilician town of Soli received from the conqueror the name of Pompeiopolis. While he was thus engaged in the south of Asia Minor, the Cretans, who were hard pressed and cruelly treated by Metellus sent a message to Pompey, offering to surrender to him if he would come over, that they might not fall into the hands of Metellus. But Pompey had no time to spare, and Metellus, in spite of the com

CHAPTER XXV

THE THIRD WAR AGAINST MITHRIDATES.—WAR AGAINST THE THRACIANS.

At the period when Pompey gained his glorious victory over the pirates the republic had for some time been involved in a fresh war against Mithridates of Pontus, which arose out of that against Sertorius in Spain, and lasted altogether for nearly ten years In B C 74 Sertorius sent two proscribed Romans to Mithridates to form an alliance with him and stir him up against Rome. The king was to assist Sertorius with his fleet, and in case of their combined efforts succeeding he was to have the sovereignty of all Asia. In the same year Nicomedes king of Bithynia, died and bequeathed his kingdom to the Roman people Mithridates, encouraged by the offer of Sertorius, not only refused to recognise this bequest but resolved to wage war against the Romans with all the powers he possessed Besides his kingdom of Pontus he ruled over a part of Cappadocia, and a number of princes, east and north of the Black Sea, as far as the river Dniester were in alliance with him or stood to him in the relation of vassals He himself had enormous treasures and a well-disciplined army of 156 000 men and could rely upon the co-operation of the pirates as well as of Sertorius

He began the war by invading Bithynia whereupon the Roman senate sent the consul, M. Aurelius Cotta with an army into Asia. In the neighbourhood of Chalcedon the hostile armies met, and the Romans were defeated. Cotta took refuge within the walls of the town, and Mithridates soon after burnt the Roman fleet in its harbour The king then took Heraclea, and began to besiege the wealthy and populous town of Cyzicus,

which he intended to make his starting point for the conquest of all Asia Minor But the inhabitants of Cyzicus remained faithful to Rome, and, though unassisted, defended themselves bravely and resolutely, repelling every attack of the enemy While the siege was going on, L Licinius Lucullus, the colleague of Cotta, arrived in Asia with a fresh army, and Mithridates, who had been *lingering too long* before Cyzicus, soon discovered that Lucullus had cut him off from all supplies of provisions After having sustained some severe losses in the engagements with his adversary, the king retreated, and hastened to Nicomedia and thence to Sinope Lucullus pursued his enemy, who almost seems to have lost his senses, for he did not know how to maintain himself anywhere At Sinope, however, he again assembled his troops, and in an engagement of his cavalry with the Romans, in the neighbourhood of Cabira, he gained some advantages but all was of no avail, for soon afterwards he fled to Comana, and thence to his son in law Tigranes, king of Armenia Tigranes for some time refused to give him any support, but in the end consented to do so

Lucullus in the meantime, entered Pontus where the towns, though they defended themselves gallantly, were compelled to surrender one after another because the armies which ought to have protected them were dispersed 60 000 of the king s subjects are said to have been killed in this campaign After having accomplished the conquest of Pontus Lucullus spent some time in regulating the affairs of the newly acquired countries, and in the meanwhile sent Appius Claudius to Tigranes to persuade him to deliver up his father in law to the Romans when this was refused Lucullus at length, in B C 69, crossed the rivers Euphrates and Tigris, and besieged Mithridates and Tigranes in Tigranocerta The host of Asiatic soldiers there assembled were dispersed like chaff and the city, with its immense treasures fell into the hands of the Romans Tigranes, in order not to be recognised threw away his diadem, and took to flight, and the defeated kings then endeavoured to gain the support of

Phraates, king of the Parthians Tigranes, however, made another stand against the Romans at Artaxata, where he was again defeated, and Lucullus then took possession of Nisibis, a town of Mesopotamia, where he spent the winter of B C 68 and 67 While he was staying there, an insurrection broke out among his troops, which had been stirred up by P Clodius, his own brother in law, who already showed strong symptoms of the detestable career he afterwards pursued The rebellion broke out first among the veterans of Valerius Flaccus (*Valeriani*) who had been serving in Asia for many years, and now demanded to be sent home Lucullus it is true, succeeded in quelling the mutiny, but it inspired his enemies with fresh hopes, while to some extent it paralysed his own energy Mithridates succeeded in completely cutting to pieces an army of 7000 men under the command of the legate, C Triarius and again recovered a part of his kingdom of Pontus Lucullus followed him, and his men at first obeyed his commands but as he approached the king they again refused obedience and it was only with the utmost difficulty that he persuaded them to serve to the end of the present campaign.

Just at this time, B C 67, the consul M' Aquilius Glabrio was appointed to succeed Lucullus in the command against Mithridates, for the enemies of Lucullus at Rome, and especially the friends of Pompey, had set on foot a report that Lucullus was protracting the war for the purpose of enriching himself, and his late misfortunes gave his enemies a welcome pretext for recalling him. When Glabrio arrived in Bithynia he remained perfectly idle, but he issued a proclamation that the army of Lucullus should be disbanded, and threatened to punish those that should continue to serve under him The army of Lucullus accordingly dispersed, some of the poorer soldiers alone clung to their commander, who had the mortification of seeing Mithridates again take possession of Pontus and Cappadocia, for Glabrio made no efforts whatever to prevent it All this was the work of the friends of Pompey, who wanted him to reap the fruits of his

predecessor s labours The equites perhaps had some reason to be dissati fied with Lucullus, for though he accumulated immense wealth in Asia still he seems, on many occasions to have pro tected the provincials against the greedy extortions of the farmers of the public revenue But on his return to Rome he was nevertheless very honourably received and rewarded with a triumph He brought with him immense riches and afterwards lived in the enjoyment of the luxuries with which he had become so familiar in Asia

In B C 66, while Pompey was yet in the south of Asia Minor, and Glabrio in Bithynia was allowing Mithridates to act as he pleased the tribune C Manilius brought forward a bill, that in addition to the seas and countries over which Pompey had the supreme command he should be invested with unlimited power also in Bithynia, Pontus, and Armenia for the purpose of con ducting the war against Mithridates This measure was opposed by Q Catulus and by the orator Q Hortensius but the tribunes and the people were resolved to carry their plan and influential men, like C Julius Caesar supported it Cicero, who was then praetor recommended the scheme in a splendid speech, the first he ever addressed to the assembled people, and the bill was carried Cicero and Caesar supported Pompey on this occasion because both were anxious to gain the favour of the people by attaching themselves to the man who at that time was their idol, for both must have seen that the measure was unconstitu tional and replete with danger The Romans however had no reason to regret the step they took though if Pompey had been a man like Sulla things would have turned out very differently When Pompey undertook the war against Mithri dates his position was far less surrounded by difficulties than that of Lucullus had been for he received strong reinforcements and Mithridates was worn out by his many vicissitudes Pompey set out from Cilicia and had an interview with Lucullus in Galatia, but the ill feeling between them was too strong to lead to any good and the meeting ended in bickerings and disputes.

cullus, and constituted Syria, with Phoenicia, a Roman province Jerusalem was at this time distracted by a civil war between the two brothers Hyrcanus and Aristobulus Pompey, after his return from an expedition into Arabia, supported the former, and took the sacred city after a siege of three months, in B C 63 He did not interfere with the religious practices of the Jews, but deprived the reigning family of its kingly titles, and appointed Hyrcanus high priest Aristobulus was sent to Rome as a prisoner, and Judaea became tributary to the republic When this was accomplished Pompey, before returning to Rome, spent a considerable time in Asia, regulating the affairs of the country Pharnaces, the treacherous son of Mithridates, received the kingdom of Bosporus which he retained until the arrival of J Caesar in those districts in B C 47, Deiotarus, tetrarch of Galatia, received Lesser Armenia, many other persons received kingdoms and principalities at the hands of Pompey, and Tigranes and Ariobarzanes were allowed to remain kings respectively of Cappadocia and Armenia Proper Syria and Cilicia became Roman provinces Pompey did not leave Asia till the spring of B C 62 when he embarked at Ephesus, but his progress through Greece was so slow, that he did not arrive in Italy until the end of the same year

At the time when the Roman arms were engaged against Sertorius, and even for some years before the province of Macedonia was endangered by the invasion of some barbarous tribes from Thrace, who ravaged the country in a most cruel manner The war against them was undertaken in B C 77, by the proconsul Appius Claudius, who defeated them in several battles, but he died in the course of his campaign before the war was brought to a close He was succeeded by C Scribonius Curio, in B C 75, who conquered the Dardanians, and penetrated as far as the river Danube, but the war was not brought to an end till B C 72, when the consul M Lucullus, who had undertaken the administration of Macedonia, subdued the whole nation of the Besi and penetrated across the Danube,

along the northern coast of the Black Sea as far as the river Tanais and the Sea of Azov The Roman arms were thus victorious everywhere within a few years Spain was subdued an insurrection of the slaves was quelled, the pirates were swept from the sea the kingdom of Mithridates was destroyed and the province of Macedonia was not only secured but the Roman dominion in that quarter was extended far beyond it

CHAPTER XXXI

THE CONSPIRACY OF CATILINE.—POMPEY AFTER HIS RETURN FROM ASIA

With all these glorious achievements abroad the condition of the people of Rome and Italy was not improved the population of Rome sank more and more into an abyss of moral depravity and profligacy and the city was in fact little better than a den of robbers and vagabonds in whom all the nobler feelings of human nature were extinct and virtue and justice were laughed at and scorned One of the most striking examples of the violation of every law of justice and humanity was exhibited by the propraetor, C Verres during his administration of Sicily from B C 73 to B C 71 though he plundered the island in the most unscrupulous manner, and in defiance of all laws human and divine carried away the finest works of art from temples as well as from the houses of private persons he escaped the punishment he so richly deserved for all the exertions and eloquence of Cicero were of no avail the judges knowing too well that the condemnation of Verres would be a condemnation of their own conduct He found an advocate in Q Hortensius and the nobles and many magistrates did their utmost to obtain his acquittal Verres himself, who had no faith in his own case withdrew from Rome but was afterwards permitted to return Boundless desires and wants strengthened the love of robbery and plunder and gluttony extravagance and profligacy of every kind reached a height which to us appears to approach real madness The optimates set the example and the populace followed it with an audacity and impudence which could arise only from their knowing that the laws were utterly powerless The good men whose number

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province he was obliged to give up his plan He is said on this occasion to have been defended by Cicero[1] In order to take vengeance on those who thwarted him he, in conjunction with some young nobles, formed a conspiracy for the purpose of murdering the consuls of B C 65, and many of the senators, but the scheme was frustrated by Catiline himself, who, impatient of delay, gave the signal before his associates were quite prepared for the perpetration of the crime In B C 64, Catiline again came forward as a candidate for the consulship, and in conjunction with C Antonius, he made the greatest efforts to defeat Cicero who likewise stood for the consulship The optimates at first treated Cicero as an upstart, with great contempt, but their fear of Catiline's success at length induced them to support Cicero who enjoyed great popularity with the people, and now bore down all opposition Catiline s mind now thought of nothing but revenge and murder, and he was determined to carry out his former de sign on a much larger scale for the city of Rome was to be reduced to a heap of ashes, and all the leading men of the time were to be killed in one general massacre Some of his noble associates provided him with money for the purpose of causing at the same time an insurrection in Picenum and Etruria

The plan was already matured for execution when Fulvia, who had been informed of the plot by her friend Curius one of the conspirators reported it to the consul Cicero who from the first had kept a watchful eye upon the proceedings of Catiline and now resolved to take the most energetic measures to sup press the conspiracy His colleague C Antonius was suspected and not without good reason of being an accomplice of Catiline so in order to keep him in good humour and out of the way of the conspirators, he gave up to him the lucrative province of Macedonia of which he was to take charge at the expiration of his consulship On the 8th of November, Cicero addressed so impres sive a speech to the senate, that Catiline, who was present quitted

[1] Ascon. *ad Cic Orat. in Toy Cand* p 85 comp. Sallust, *Cat* 18 Cic *pro Cael* 4

was very small, had everything to fear, while the bad ones had everything to hope Rome was in a state of extreme dissolution, and the republic was a mere name

There is, perhaps, no example in the history of man of such consummate wickedness as that of C Sergius Catilina, who acted more like an incarnate evil demon than a human being He was descended from a noble family, and had become accustomed to murder and bloodshed in the days of Sulla, to whose party he belonged. It cannot be denied that he was an extraordinary man and that he possessed all the qualities which might adorn a great man in such times as those in which he lived for his courage was unparalleled, and he possessed a gigantic strength both of body and mind The accounts which we have of his crimes may, indeed, be exaggerated in some points, but in the main they are unquestionably correct, though it is difficult to see what was the object of the enormous wrongs he planned, unless it were to set himself up as a tyrant on the ruins of Rome, and on the heaps of the corpses of his fellow-citizens In the course of his dissolute life he had squandered all his property and he now saw no help for himself except in a revolution many other nobles, who were in the same or similar circumstances, were also gained over by him, for he is said to have possessed such a fascinating power over those who came in contact with him that no one could resist him. Some of the nobles such as M Licinius Crassus in their feuds against one another may have supported his schemes since they looked upon him as a welcome instrument for the attainment of their selfish ends He was accordingly joined by profligates of all classes and parties, as well as by the dregs of the populace, who longed for the revival of the proscriptions of the time of Sulla.

Catiline began his diabolical machinations in B C 66 three years before the consulship of Cicero whom he hated more than any other man. He had been propraetor of the province of Africa, and on his return he intended offering himself as a candidate for the consulship but being accused of extortion in his

province he was obliged to give up his plan He is said on this occasion to have been defended by Cicero [1] In order to take vengeance on those who thwarted him he in conjunction with some young nobles formed a conspiracy for the purpose of murdering the consuls of B C 65, and many of the senators but the scheme was frustrated by Catiline himself who, impatient of delay, gave the signal before his associates were quite prepared for the perpetration of the crime In B C 64, Catiline again came forward as a candidate for the consulship, and in conjunction with C Antonius he made the greatest efforts to defeat Cicero who likewise stood for the consulship The optimates at first treated Cicero as an upstart, with great contempt, but their fear of Catiline s success at length induced them to support Cicero who enjoyed great popularity with the people and now bore down all opposition Catiline's mind now thought of nothing but revenge and murder, and he was determined to carry out his former design on a much larger scale for the city of Rome was to be reduced to a heap of ashes and all the leading men of the time were to be killed in one general massacre Some of his noble associates provided him with money for the purpose of causing at the same time an insurrection in Picenum and Etruria

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[1] Ascon *ad Cic Orat. in Toy Cand* p 85 comp Sallust *Cat* 18 C c *pro Cael.* 4

Rome the night following The next day Cicero delivered another speech on the same subject to the people the senate then declared Catiline a public enemy, and ordered Cicero to provide for the safety of the city commanding at the same time that an army should be raised An event occurred in the meantime which put Cicero in possession of the most unexceptionable evidence of the conspiracy and its accomplices Some Allobrogian ambassadors came to Rome who brought with them letters from Catiline to his comrades in the city for on their way through Etruria he had attempted to gain them over to his scheme The ambassadors however secretly revealed the whole affair to Cicero When they left Rome they were again charged with letters to Catiline but in the night between the 2nd and 3rd of December as they quitted Rome they were apprehended, for the sake of appearance near the Mulvian bridge and all the letters thus fell into the hands of Cicero who immediately laid the whole matter before the people The Allobrogians were rewarded for the disclosures they had made and Cicero ordered those conspirators who were at Rome and whose crime was established by their correspondence to be thrown into prison Among them were the praetor Lentulus Cethegus Statilius and Caeparius On the 5th of December Cicero delivered his fourth Catilinarian speech in the senate respecting the punishment to be inflicted on those of the conspirators who had been arrested He himself proposed that as their crime was proved they should be put to death and Cato supported him in this view As all the senators with the exception of J Caesar were of the same opinion the conspirators were strangled in prison on that same day Thus summary proceeding though perfectly just and in accordance with the principles of Roman law afterwards became to Cicero the cause of great trouble and suffering

The conspiracy however was not yet suppressed for Catiline who had in vain attempted to escape into Gaul assembled an army in Etruria the war against him was ordered to be conducted by C Antonius but as he was ill or unwilling to fight

against his former associate his legate, M Petreius undertook the management of the war In the beginning of B C 62, Catiline was compelled to engage in battle near Pistoria in the north of Etruria Catiline and his men fought like lions all fell sword in hand and none took to flight 3000 conspirators were slain in the engagement and among them their leader The conspiracy itself was thus crushed, but there were numbers of persons both at Rome and in Italy who although not actual accomplices of Catiline yet in their hearts favoured him, and had hoped to derive advantages from his revolution it was this class of men who caused the subsequent disturbances and some years later drove Cicero into exile

Cicero truly deserved the gratitude of his country since it was owing to his exertions and vigilance alone that the republic was saved from a miserable destruction and we cannot wonder that in after life he spoke of the occurrences of his consulship with pride and satisfaction The senators saluted him as the father of his country and declared him worthy of a civic crown But the happiness he thus enjoyed did not last long for a few days after he had laid down his consulship the tribunes Metellus Nepos and Bestia in conjunction with J Caesar who was then praetor declared that Pompey must return from Asia to restore the constitution which had been violated by Cicero having put to death Roman citizens without a formal trial This proposal created great disturbances and had not Cato who was one of the tribunes opposed his colleagues with all his might and his usual firmness matters would already have come to a sad crisis [2]

Pompey did not land in Italy till the end of the year B C 62 on his arrival at Brundusium he disbanded his army in order to impress upon the people the not on that notwithstanding his extraordinary achievements he still honoured republican liberty In the beginning of B C 61 he arrived at Rome without any armed force and was received by the people with the greatest joy and enthusiasm He celebrated his victories with a more splendid

Plut. *Cic* 23 *Cat Min* 21 26 Sueton *Caes* 16

triumph than Rome had ever witnessed Vast sums of money were deposited in the public treasury every soldier who had served in his legions received a present of about 45*l* and Pompey devoted a part of his booty to the building of a temple of Minerva with an inscription recording his victories[3] But notwithstanding his affectation of republican sentiments and his generosity he was unable to induce the senate to sanction the arrangements which he had made in Asia Cato Q Metellus Celer Lucullus, and Crassus all opposed his desires[4] As Pompey s vanity had not allowed him to anticipate such opposition his wounded pride led him to abandon the optimates and to join the popular party This step which once taken could not easily be retraced involved him in all the unfortunate circumstances in which he ultimately perished

[3] Plin. *Hist. Nat* vii. 26 Diodor *Fragm. Vat* p. 140 ed Dindorf

[4] Dion. Cass xxxv 49 Appian. *De Bell Civ* ii 9

CHAPTER XXXII

C JULIUS CAESAR, CN POMPEY, AND M LICINIUS CRASSUS.—CAESAR'S CONSULSHIP.—P CLODIUS.—CICERO'S EXILE AND RESTORATION.—PTOLEMY AULETES.—CLODIUS AND MILO

C JULIUS CAESAR had distinguished himself by his intrepidity and prudence even when a young man during the dictatorship of Sulla, for he defied the dictator's command while every one else trembled, and it was mainly owing to his prudence that his name was not put on the proscription list. Pompey, who had not penetration enough to comprehend so vast a mind as that of Caesar, received his acts of friendship and attachment as a homage done to his own merits, while Caesar only endeavoured to raise himself in popular favour by his connexion with Pompey. Caesar's unbounded liberality towards the people plunged him into debts and difficulties, but this was the means by which he gradually succeeded in eclipsing Pompey in popularity. There existed a relationship between the families of Caesar and Marius, for Julia, a sister of Caesar's father, had been married to the elder Marius, for whom Caesar always felt a strong attachment. When Julia died in B C 67, Caesar delivered the funeral oration, and two years later, B C 65, he restored one night the statues of Marius and the representations of his victories in the Capitol, all these marks of honour having been destroyed or removed by Sulla. Their restoration filled the senate with alarm, but delighted the people, who, with the greatest applause and enthusiasm, hailed the reappearance of the well-known features of their former leader. From this time Caesar became the avowed head of the remnants of the Marian party. In B C 62 he was invested with

the praetorship, and after the expiration of his office he went into his province of Spain where he suppressed an insurrection among the Lusitanians and subdued some districts which had not yet recognised the supremacy of Rome The sums of money which he collected in Spain were so enormous that he not only had enough to pay his debts which are said to have amounted to one million sterling but he had a large sum left to continue his extravagances About the middle of the year B C 60 he returned to Rome and obtained the consulship for the year following together with M Calpurnius Bibulus, an honest but narrow minded and obstinate man The provinces which were assigned to the consuls were of a kind from which neither fame nor profit could be expected this exasperated Caesar, and as Pompey likewise was displeased with the senate Caesar easily gained him over to his side and at the same time established a reconciliation between him and Crassus whose money had often assisted Caesar in carrying out his demagogic schemes The union of these three men is commonly called the first triumvirate they now agreed among themselves that no political measures should be taken which might be displeasing to any one of them [1] Caesar endeavoured to draw Cicero also into the coalition but Cicero dreaded their ambitious schemes and was in fact more anxious for the safety of the republic than for his own personal influence These three men now were all powerful they held the fate of the republic in their hands they acted just as they pleased, and each of them hastened with equal zeal towards the accomplishment of what he considered the consummation of his desires Crassus wanted to be at the head of the world for the sole purpose of increasing his wealth Pompey hoped to get his arrangements in Asia sanctioned and to heighten his glory but Caesar saw through their designs and calculated beforehand what was going to happen, well knowing that in the end he should rise above both of them

Under such circumstances Caesar entered upon his consulship

[1] Suetonius *Caes.* 19

in B C 59 He began his proceedings by carrying a series of laws all of which tended to raise him in the people's esteem while they offended the senate and his colleague Bibulus In order to render the senate more amenable to public opinion he enacted that thenceforward regular records of the transactions in the senate and the assembly should be kept and published[2] By a second regulation he secured the good will of the whole body of equites by releasing the farmers of the public revenue from one third of the sums they owed to the public treasury, for in their eagerness to obtain the contracts they had offered larger sums than they found it possible to pay A far more important measure however was his agrarian law This was a modification of a bill which had been brought forward in B C 63 by the tribune Servilius Rullus but had been defeated by Cicero The provisions of this law were as follows A commission of 20 consulars was appointed to distribute the domain land in Campania and the district called Stellatis to such poor citizens as had at least three children the lots thus assigned were not transferable by sale for the next twenty years As there was not land enough to satisfy all who preferred their claims it was further enacted that other districts should be purchased out of the booty which Pompey had brought from Asia a colony also was established at Capua Not less than 20 000 citizens are said to have received allotments of land by this agrarian law Bibulus Cicero and the whole senate opposed the measure but their exertions were useless Bibulus altogether withdrew from public life and shut himself up in his house for the rest of the year Caesar was thus in fact sole consul and might act as he pleased[3] In order to unite himself still more closely with Pompey Caesar at length got the senate to sanction Pompey's arrangements in Asia[4] he also gave him his own daughter Julia in marriage though she was betrothed to another man With the view of securing the permanence of his

[1] These records resembling our newspapers were called *acta diurna* Suet. *Caes* 20

[2] Sueton *Caes* 20 Vell Pat ii 44 Liv Epit. 103 Appian, *Bell Civ* ii 10

[3] Sueton *Caes* 20 Vell Pat ii 44 Appian *Bell Civ* ii 13 Plut. *Pomp* 48 Dion Cass xxxviii 7

regulations, Caesar himself married Calpurnia, the daughter of L Calpurnius Piso, who was, through the influence of Caesar, elected consul for the year following along with A Gabinius

Having thus insured the favour of Pompey, the people, and the equites, he now found it easy to obtain the province he liked, and also to secure a long continuance of his power This latter point he accomplished by a violation of the constitution Hitherto n province had never been assigned to any man for a period longer than one year, but Caesar got the tribune Q Vatinius to carry n law by which the provinces of Cisalpine Gaul and Illyricum were given to him for five years the senate afterwards added the province of Transalpine Gaul, because it was evident that a bill would be proposed to the people for that purpose, if the senate did not grant that province also Having thus obtained what he wanted, and having established his influence at Rome by consuls of his own choice, Caesar prepared for setting out with his legions to Gaul Q Cicero, the brother of the orator, was appointed to accompany him as one of his legates, but the orator himself refused to go with him, and thereby offended Caesar, who remained with his army in the neighbourhood of Rome until the end of April B C 58, to support Clodius

P Clodius was the son of Appius Claudius, who had been consul in B C 79, he belonged accordingly to the haughty patrician family of the Claudii At that time there was none, with the exception of Catiline, who surpassed him in profligacy, and in the perpetration of crimes of every kind He was married to a sister of Lucullus, in whose camp at Nisibis he had acted the part of a mutineer In B C 61, while the vestals and matrons were celebrating the festival of the Bona Dea, in the house of the Pontifex Maximus (J Caesar), Clodius, in the disguise of a woman, sneaked into the house to have a secret meeting with the wife of Caesar His violation of the sanctity of religion was discovered, and the criminal was brought to trial Cicero, between whom and Clodius there had been until then no enmity, was called upon to undertake his defence, and to show

that at the time the crime was committed Clodius was not at Rome Cicero not only refused to comply with the request but being overcome by an honest indignation bore witness against him and made so severe an attack upon him, that his condemnation would have been unavoidable had he not purchased his acquittal This was a bold proceeding on the part of Cicero for which he had to do severe penance Clodius never forgave him and meditated revenge In order to be able to obtain the tribuneship Clodius caused himself to be adopted into a plebeian family His object was thus gained and he was elected tribune for the year B C 58 He contrived to obtain the support of the consuls by promising to obtain for Calpurnius Piso the province of Macedonia and for Gabinius that of Syria For this price the unprincipled consuls sold and betrayed the welfare of the republic and the happiness of one of the few good men whom Rome possessed By the gratuitous distribution of large quantities of corn among the populace of Rome and by restoring the corporations of trades which had been suppressed by the senate in B C 68 he secured the favour of the multitude this done he brought forward and carried a law that whosoever had put to death a Roman citizen without a formal trial should be outlawed. Cicero's name was not mentioned in the law but every one knew that the blow was aimed at him Pompey withdrew into the country Crassus bore a grudge against Cicero who had mentioned him in connexion with the Catilinarian conspiracy the consuls and Caesar who was still at the very gates of Rome with his army supported Clodius Cicero therefore was abandoned by those who had the power and influence to save him He felt that he should be irrecoverably lost if he remained at Rome without waiting for his trial therefore he quitted the city and his country lamented by the best citizens Toward the end of March he went to Thessalonica in Macedonia where he was kindly received by the praetor Plancius After the departure of Cicero Clodius procured his formal condemnation he outlawed not only Cicero but every one that should

afford him protection, he demolished his house on the Palatine, destroyed two of his villas and caused all his remaining property to be sold by public auction After this Clodius proposed several other laws, some of which were carried, and all of which tended, more or less, to bring utter ruin upon the republic He had once fallen into the hands of pirates, and Ptolemy, king of Cyprus and brother of the king of Egypt had declined to ransom him Clodius now took revenge, by carrying a law that the king should be deposed, on the plea that he was a bad ruler, and in order at the same time to get rid of a troublesome opponent at Rome, he caused Cato to be appointed to go to Cyprus, to take possession of the island and constitute it a Roman province Ptolemy escaped the unjust deposition by taking poison immediately before the arrival of Cato Cyprus, however, became a Roman province, and Cato, on his return to Rome, brought with him the sum of 7000 talents which he honestly delivered up to the treasury

In this manner the year of Clodius' tribuneship came to its close, but no sooner had he laid down his office, than public opinion turned in favour of Cicero Petitions to recall him were sent in from all parts, and several of the tribunes brought forward bills to the same effect, but all were thwarted by the intrigues of Clodius At length the consul P Cornelius Lentulus on the suggestion of his colleague Q Caecilius Metellus, carried a law on the 4th of August B C 57 by which Cicero was formally recalled from his exile Exactly one month later he arrived at Rome, where his return resembled a magnificent triumph this afforded him some consolation for his sufferings Pompey now was friendly towards Cicero, but only because he was at variance with Clodius and Cicero immediately after his return showed his gratitude by supporting a bill proposed by the consuls that Pompey should be invested with the superintendence of all the importations of grain, with proconsular power in all the provinces for five years, and with the command of fifteen legions[a]

[a] Dion Cass. xxxix. 9, Appian *Bell Civ* ii. 18, Plut. *Pomp* 49

While these things were going on at Rome, an insurrection broke out at Alexandria in Egypt, in consequence probably of the loss of the fair island of Cyprus, and the wretched king Ptolemy Auletes, who had hitherto maintained himself at Alexandria with the aid of the Romans, was obliged to take to flight He arrived at Rome in B C 57, and by distributing large bribes among the leading men he endeavoured to get himself restored P Cornelius Lentulus, in his consulship, prevailed upon the senate to commission him to reinstate Ptolemy in his kingdom, but Cato, who thought such an undertaking dangerous, caused the senate to issue a decree that Ptolemy should not be restored at all. Cicero and Pompey took part in these discussions, and supported Lentulus, but in vain Afterwards, A Gabinius, in his proconsulship of Syria, in B C 55, was induced by the king, for the enormous bribe of 10,000 talents, to restore him in defiance of the decree of the senate In addition to this, Gabinius carried on in Syria a system of barefaced extortion, and the eques C Rabirius was his associate in these disgraceful proceedings On their return to Rome, an action for extortion was brought against both of them, and Cicero was prevailed upon by Pompey to undertake their defence Pompey and Crassus exerted all their powers also to save Gabinius, but to no purpose, for he was exiled, and his property was confiscated and publicly sold

The internal condition of Rome in the mean time, became worse and worse In B C 56 Pompey and Crassus, by the desire of Caesar, tried to gain the consulship a second time All good citizens opposed the scheme, but violence carried the day L Domitius, who was one of the candidates who had publicly declared that he would propose to deprive Caesar of his legions and province, was intimidated by armed soldiers, and his servant was cut down before his eyes, to show him what he himself had to expect if he should persevere in his suit Pompey and Crassus were accordingly made consuls for B C 55 In compliance with another desire of Caesar, they hired the tribune,

C. Trebonius, who by force and violence carried a law, by which Caesar's administration of Gaul was prolonged for five years from the date of the law; Crassus at the same time received Syria and the adjacent countries, and Pompey all Spain as his province, each likewise for the period of five years. Cato, who ventured to oppose this unconstitutional measure, was thrown into prison. Pompey also made some enactments concerning the courts of justice, and bribery at elections, though it still continued to be an understood thing that no one could obtain any of the offices without expending large sums to bribe the electors. The law, therefore, was a mere farce; or, at least, was only intended to prevent a certain grossness and openness of the crime, which itself could not be prevented.

The history of the feuds between Clodius and Milo forms another very instructive instance of the frightful state of society in those days. If we reflect that what is related of those two must have been the case with hundreds of others whose position was less conspicuous, the insecurity of both person and property at that time must have been as great as in the most barbarous periods of the middle ages. Annius Milo and P. Clodius were bitter enemies, and each being in constant dread of the other, they never went out without being accompanied by bands of armed slaves, between whom bloody scenes were matters of ordinary occurrence. Shortly before the end of the year B.C. 53, the two parties met on the Appian road, and a scuffle ensued, in which Clodius, who was then a candidate for the praetorship, being mortally wounded, died. Milo was charged with having murdered him; and the friends and partisans of each threw Rome into such a state of confusion, that for many months it was impossible to hold the consular elections: Rome was in a condition of anarchy until Pompey was made sole consul, an appointment which had never taken place before in the history of Rome. Milo, who was at the time a candidate for the consulship, was brought to trial about three months after the affray, and was defended by Cicero. Pompey, who was unfavourable to Milo, had taken such extraordinary

measures for the trial the whole forum being surrounded by armed soldiers that Cicero for the first time in his life lost his self possession He was so intimidated that he was unable to plead for Milo who was accordingly condemned but went into exile at Marseilles The year after this B C 51 Cicero though very reluctantly undertook the administration of the province of Cilicia which was then threatened by the Parthians

CHAPTER XXVIII

J CAESAR'S CAMPAIGNS IN GAUL—THE AFFAIRS OF ITALY—UNFORTUNATE WAR OF CRASSUS AGAINST THE PARTHIANS—EVENTS WHICH LED TO THE CIVIL WAR BETWEEN POMPEY AND CAESAR.

THE campaigns of Caesar in Gaul, from B C 58 to B C 50, are among the most memorable in the history of man, and the more so because we possess a very accurate account of them by the great general himself, with a supplementary part which is probably the work of his friend A Hirtius As this work is in the hands of all, we shall confine ourselves to a brief outline of the principal events and a few general observations Caesar, in his general conduct, showed a mind which controlled all events, even the most untoward he saw through everything, acted with the utmost caution and decision, and attached to himself the hearts of all his soldiers in such a manner that with him and for him they did everything and gladly ventured on the boldest undertakings But far different was his conduct towards the barbarians in regard to them Caesar was no better than all other Romans with the exceptions only of the Gracchi and Sertorius, for the lives of thousands of barbarians were sacrificed without a scruple, and no means, however bad and immoral, were neglected if they did but contribute to establish Rome's dominion and Caesar's greatness he who among his fellow-citizens was mild and forgiving acted in Gaul with an almost unparalleled cruelty But whatever were the sufferings which he inflicted upon Gaul and the neighbouring countries, one circumstance may, perhaps, be looked upon as a compensation, namely, through Caesar's campaigns those countries were drawn into the current of Roman civilisation.

At the time when Caesar arrived in Gaul that country was in a state of great excitement, for the Helvetii, a Gallic tribe dwelling between the north of the Lake of Geneva the river Rhine, and Mount Jura, had been induced by Orgetorix, the most wealthy and powerful man among them, to quit their country and seek new homes in western or southern Gaul It may be that they were induced to this extraordinary movement by the fact, that they were pressed in the north or east by the advancement of the German tribes, some of whom had already crossed the Rhine Although their leader Orgetorix died, the deluded people were determined to carry out their plan, and after having burnt all their towns and villages they marched into the country of the Sequani Three of their clans had already crossed the river Arar (Saone) and the fourth called the Tigurini, was still on the eastern side of the river, when Caesar, who apprehended great danger to the Roman province of Gaul, arrived with his legions and attacked the Tigurini who were taken by surprise and entirely cut to pieces He then pursued the other three clans, and fought a battle with them near the town of Bibracte (Autun), in which the Helvetii after a severe conflict were defeated with great slaughter, and the survivors took to flight Being again overtaken by Caesar they were obliged to capitulate, and were compelled to return to their own devastated country When the Helvetii left their native land their number comprising women and children, is said to have amounted to 368 000 of these only 110,000 survived to return to their own country

Gaul was at this time occupied by a great number of tribes party feeling extended even to towns and families, which were rent asunder by political disputes The form of government among most of the tribes was of a republican nature, but the greatest power was in the hands of the Druids the priests and the nobles, while the people were greatly oppressed and were little better than the serfs of the nobles One among the Gallic tribes always held a sort of supremacy over the rest resembling that which was once possessed by the Lacedaemonians in Greece

In former times this supremacy belonged to the Arverni, but afterwards the Aedui rose by their side claiming the same distinction. They succeeded, and after the war of the Romans against the Allobrogians in B.C. 121 the Aedui were honoured with the title of friends and allies of the Roman people. As the power of the Arverni declined, that of the Sequani rose, and during the disputes of the latter with the Aedui, they invited the Germans to come to Gaul and assist them against their rivals. This seems to have happened about the year B.C. 72. Accordingly Ariovistus the King of the Suevi crossed the Rhine with an army of 120,000 men, and again and again defeated the Aedui. But he also compelled the Sequani to give up to him one-third of their territory, with this he rewarded his men, and finally settled in the country. Other swarms of Germans followed his example, and took up their abode in Gaul. As Ariovistus had been honoured by the senate in Caesar's own consulship with the title of king and friend, Caesar had no right to make war upon him, but at the request of the Aedui, Caesar with his army penetrated into the country of the Sequani and took possession of the town of Vesontio (Besançon) on the river Dubis (Doubs), and some days later he fought a decisive battle, in which the Suevi were completely defeated, and Ariovistus with a few survivors fled across the Rhine whither Caesar was wise enough not to follow him. These two great and glorious battles which were fought by Caesar in his first campaign, raised his fame in all parts of Gaul, and the more so because the Suevi had been heretofore believed to be invincible.

In the second year of Caesar's administration of Gaul B.C. 57 all the Belgian tribes inhabiting the countries between the Seine the Moselle and the Rhine formed a confederacy and rose in arms against the Romans. They were alarmed by the success of the Romans, and it would almost seem as if after Caesar's victory over Ariovistus something had happened which caused this general apprehension. The army of Belgians amounted to 300,000 men the Remi alone into whose country Caesar

marched first, did not join their countrymen, but formed an alliance with the Romans Caesar contrived to separate the formidable army of the enemy, and was thus enabled to defeat the different tribes one after another The brave Nervii held out longest, and brought Caesar's army into great peril, but in the end they also were completely defeated in so bloody a battle that out of 60,000 only 500 survived At the same time Caesar received intelligence that his legate M Crassus had subdued the Veneti, Unelli, and several other tribes in the north west of Gaul The happy issue of this brilliant campaign, by which the Romans became masters of the greater part of northern Gaul, was celebrated at Rome with public thanksgivings for fifteen days While Caesar was in his winter quarters and in the early part of the spring of B C 56, while he was in Italy, the maritime tribes in the north west of Gaul some of whom had submitted the year before, formed a powerful confederacy against him Caesar himself undertook the war against the Veneti while his legates were sent into other parts The Veneti were defeated, and treated most cruelly by the conqueror, for the purpose of striking terror into the other tribes In the latter part of the summer, Caesar marched into the country of the Morini and Menapii, as they were still in arms and ravaged their fields and villages in a frightful manner His legates in the meantime subdued the other revolted tribes and Crassus not without great difficulty conquered the greater part of Aquitania

Gaul was so much weakened by the exertions of the last two years that for the present the people could not think of venturing upon a fresh war against the Romans, but Caesar was anxious to gain new victories and to keep his legions in activity in order that the people at Rome might not forget him An opportunity soon offered The Usipetes and Tencteri two German tribes which had been driven out of their own country by the Suevi had crossed the Rhine not far from its mouth and intended to settle in Gaul This, however Caesar determined to prevent, and marched against them, upon which the Germans

began to negotiate with him. While the negotiations were going on, a body of German cavalry defeated one of Caesar's Gallic cavalry. The next day all the German chiefs came into Caesar's camp to apologise for what had happened. But Caesar, instead of listening to them, detained them, and led out his army to attack the Germans, who being deprived of their leaders made but feeble resistance and were nearly all cut to pieces by the Roman cavalry. The remainder fled across the river into Germany. This piece of treachery, which Caesar himself relates without any scruple whatever, is one of the foulest acts of his life. When it became known at Rome, honest Cato proposed to the senate that Caesar should be delivered up to the barbarians to atone for his guilt.[1] After this victory Caesar went up the Rhine. On the invitation of the Ubii to assist them against the Suevi, he built a wooden bridge somewhere in the neighbourhood of Neuwied, and marched across the Rhine into Germany. The only object of this invasion seems to have been to strike terror into the Germans, for after having ravaged the territory of the Sigambri for eighteen days he returned to Gaul and broke down the bridge. Although the greater part of the summer was already gone, Caesar resolved to make an expedition into Britain, which had been long known by that name but was believed to be inaccessible. It seems to have had a charm for Caesar to invade an island which no foreign enemy had yet set his foot upon, for he could not expect any great booty, and the districts from which the ancients derived their tin were in the far west of the island. He took with him only two legions, with which he sailed from the port of Itius (probably Whitsand, between Calais and Boulogne) and after a severe struggle with the natives effected a landing somewhere near the South Foreland. Some of the British tribes sent offers of submission to Caesar, but when they heard that a great part of the Roman fleet had been destroyed they took up arms again. As they were defeated they again offered to submit. The season being already far

[1] Plut. *Cat. Min.* 51, *Caes.* 22. Appian, *De Reb. Gall.* 18.

advanced, Caesar accepted their submission, only demanding double the number of hostages they had given before, and returned to Gaul just before the day of the equinox Although no conquests had been made in this campaign, still his victory over the Germans and his invasion of Britain, seem to have created such wonder and admiration at Rome, that the senate decreed public thanksgivings for twenty days, notwithstanding the opposition of Cato

The campaign of the year B C 54 was opened with a war against the Treviri, and some of the Belgian tribes, which had shown a disposition to revolt When peace was restored among them, Caesar determined to make a second expedition into Britain With an army of five legions he sailed from the port of Itius, and landed at the same place as before The Britons gave the supreme command to a chief, Cassivelaunus, whose territories lay north of the river Tamesis (Thames), and fought bravely against the invader, but were defeated in several engagements Caesar then crossed the Thames at the only place where it was fordable, probably at Coway Stakes near Oatlands, took the capital of Cassivelaunus, and conquered a great part of the present counties of Essex and Middlesex. Cassivelaunus was obliged to sue for peace, and Caesar, having received hostages and settled the annual tribute which Britain was to pay to Rome, returned to Gaul towards the end of the summer He left no troops or garrisons in Britain, and accordingly the obedience and submission of the Britons was at an end as soon as he had quitted the island

During the ensuing winter Caesar was obliged to place his army in different parts of Gaul in consequence of the great scarcity of provisions, and his forces being thus divided the Gauls thought it a favourable opportunity for recovering their independence The detachment under his legate Sabinus was destroyed by the Eburones almost to a man, and the camp of Q Cicero would have experienced the same fate had not Caesar come to its assistance

The partial success of the Eburones encouraged several other Gallic tribes to enter into a confederacy in B C 53, and attempt to recover their independence But Caesar increased his forces and easily succeeded in subduing the insurgents As the Treviri had been supported by the Germans, he again crossed the Rhine at a point somewhat higher up the river than the first time The Ubii submitted to him, and he advanced into the country of the Suevi. But the latter retreated into their forests and fastnesses, and Caesar, unable to pursue them, again re-crossed the Rhine, having gained by this second invasion just as little as by the first On his return, finding Ambiorix, the chief of the Eburones, still in arms, he made the strongest efforts to subdue him the country of the Eburones was laid waste in a frightful manner, and the troops of Ambiorix were repeatedly defeated, but he himself always escaped falling into the hands of the Romans The Sigambri also crossed the Rhine, and nearly took possession of Cicero's camp Some of the ringleaders of these insurrections fell into the hands of Caesar this incensed all the tribes of Gaul, and their hatred of the Roman yoke became so intense, that the whole of central Gaul conspired against it, and all the fruits of Caesar's victories seemed to be lost The insurrection broke out among the Carnutes but it spread with such rapidity that in a very short time nearly the whole of Gaul was again in arms Even the Aedui, who had hitherto acted as the friends of Rome, after a while joined the rebels At their head was Vercingetorix, a noble Arvernian, a man worthy of his post and by far the ablest general whom Caesar had yet encountered in Gaul

Under such circumstances Caesar entered on his seventh campaign in B C 52, even before the end of the winter After having provided for the safety of the Roman province, he marched into the country of the Arverni (Auvergne) Caesar's genius in that year displayed itself more strikingly than ever he acted with the utmost prudence, and yet with a quickness which astonished his enemies In a short time he conquered the most important towns

too late, for Gaul was too much exhausted, and was unable to offe any efficient resistance to the Roman arms After having effecte the pacification of Gaul, and made the necessary negotiations u the newly conquered countries, he went, in the spring of B C 50 to Cisalpine Gaul, leaving his army in the districts beyond th Alps Gaul was at that time a rich country, and Caesar had amassed immense treasures, his soldiers were attached to him with their whole hearts, and in Rome and Italy his achievements had raised the greatest admiration of his talent and valour Three hundred tribes are said to have been subdued by him, and the supremacy of Rome was recognised by the Helvetii, the Gauls, and Belgians

During these years of active engagement in Gaul, Caesar, who had a watchful eye upon every thing that was going on in Rome, kept his friends there in such incessant activity to promote the interests of his cause and party, that his enemies began to be alarmed. We have already seen in what manner L. Domitius was led to desist from his suit for the consul ship of B C 55 In the spring of B C 56, when Pompey, in the capacity of superintendent of the supplies of corn, was sent by the senate to Sardinia, Caesar contrived to meet Pompey and Crassus at Luca, in the north of Etruria, because there had been some ill feeling between Pompey and Crassus Caesar not only brought about a reconciliation, but, to thwart Domitius, got them to offer themselves as candidates for the consulship of B C 55, and to promise him to make the regulations for the provinces which were noticed above, and which were effected by the laws of the tribune Trebonius Pompey at the same time tried to with draw the attention of the people from the schemes of the three confederates, by building and inaugurating a stone theatre, the first that was ever erected at Rome * and by public games and festivities of every description. Julia, the daughter of Caesar, who was married to Pompey, was during her lifetime a strong bond of union between the two, and any outbreak of hostilities would

* Dion Cass. xxxix. 38 Plut. *Pomp* 52

perhaps have been prevented by her influence, but in B C 54 she died in child bed, and her infant survived her only a few days This event rent the tie between Caesar and Pompey completely asunder, and jealousy on the part of Pompey manifested itself but too soon afterwards

Crassus, shortly before the expiration of his consulship, in B C 55, went to his province of Syria, and with the hope of satiating his avarice with the treasures of Asia, he prepared for war against the Parthians He plundered wherever he went, and from the temple of Jerusalem alone took 2000 talents After having spent the winter in Syria, he crossed the Euphrates, in B C 54, and entered Mesopotamia As he had no knowledge of the country, and was obliged to trust to guides, he allowed himself and his army to be led by a crafty Arabian chief of the name of Abgarus into one of the sandy plains of Mesopotamia He there found himself in a most dangerous position and was attacked by the Parthians Having sustained considerable loss, he withdrew to Carrhae, but there again he was surrounded by the enemy During an interview with the Parthian commander, into which he suffered himself to be cajoled, he was on the point of being taken prisoner when, in his attempt to escape, he fell by an unknown hand, and his son, who displayed the utmost gallantry on that occasion, was cut down almost before his father's eyes This sad catastrophe took place in B C 53 the whole Roman army was nearly annihilated for 20 000 are said to have lost their lives in that expedition, and 10 000, with the Roman camp, fell into the hands of the Parthian conquerors Their king Orodes, to whom the head of Crassus was afterwards brought, caused it to be filled with melted gold, saying "Sate thyself now with that metal of which in life thou wert so greedy" Only a small portion of the Roman army, under C Cassius Longinus, escaped to Syria, but the Parthian war was not brought to a close till B C 51, when Bibulus was proconsul of Syria

By the death of Crassus, the triumvirate was changed into a duumvirate, but as the friendship which had existed between

Pompey and Caesar began to cool immediately after the death of Julia, many a one must have foreseen that, sooner or later, matters would come to a crisis between the two Pompey spent most of his time at Rome, and carried on the administration of his province of Spain through his legates, whereby he did not risk his military reputation, while at the same time he kept up an army ready to obey his commands The princely manner in which he lived, with his obvious endeavours to place himself as dictator at the head of the republic, filled many of the intelligent citizens with fear and jealousy Cato publicly denounced his unconstitutional powers and ambitious schemes The optimates, as a body, however, clung to him, believing him to be the only safeguard against Caesar The consular elections, in B C 53, were delayed for a long time by the riots of Clodius and his opponents, and in the end, as every one feared lest Pompey should become dictator, Cato himself recommended that he should be made sole consul, in order to restore peace and order in the republic Towards the end of February, B C 52, Pompey entered upon his third consulship without a colleague, and remained sole consul for five months, after which he chose Q Metellus Scipio, his father in law, for his colleague, probably for no other reason than to allay apprehensions and make the people believe that he was anxious to uphold the republican constitution The aristocracy again began therefore to consider Pompey as their leader, and to look forward with greater apprehensions than ever to the expiration of Caesar's proconsulship of Gaul But Pompey, who was not yet prepared openly to break with his rival, got a law passed by which Caesar was to be allowed to become a candidate for the consulship without coming to Rome in person Things however assumed more and more a definite aspect In B C 51, the consul, M Claudius Marcellus a violent aristocrat proposed to send a successor to Caesar in Gaul, and to deprive him of the privilege which Pompey had secured for him Marcellus, in fact, lost no opportunity of insulting Caesar The senatorial party secured for the year B C 50, the election of

L Aemilius Paulus, and C Claudius Marcellus, to the consulship, and of C Curio to the tribuneship all these were believed to be the most devoted partisans of Pompey and the senate, and it was hoped that with their aid Pompey would adopt some energetic measure against Caesar But the latter contrived, by enormous bribes, to gain over to his side the consul Aemilius Paulus, and the bold and eloquent tribune C Curio, and with an unsparing hand he distributed large sums of money among the leading men at Rome What alarmed the aristocracy most was the fear lest Caesar should be elected consul while he was absent at the head of his legions in order to prevent this, the consul, C Marcellus, proposed in the senate that Caesar should be compelled to lay down his command before the end of the year, B C 50 But this was unreasonable, as his command ought to last till the end of B C 49, and Caesar's life would not have been safe if he had ventured to come to Rome as a private person Curio, however, interposed his veto, and rendered the proposal of Marcellus powerless

In the spring of B C 50, Caesar came to Cisalpine Gaul where he was received in all the towns with the greatest applause and enthusiasm He then returned across the Alps to muster all the troops he had at his command, but at the request of the senate he gave up two legions, which were said to be wanted for the Parthian war, though he well knew that it was only to weaken his power, and that they would probably be employed against himself Having placed his eight remaining legions in winter quarters in Transalpine Gaul he himself returned to the north of Italy with a very small part of his forces, intending to spend the winter at Ravenna, not far from the frontier of his province of Cisalpine Gaul Though he knew the hostile intentions of the aristocracy, he addressed a letter to the senate, expressing his readiness to disband his army if Pompey would do the same, but it was with the greatest difficulty that the senate allowed even the letter to be read and on the motion of Scipio, Pompey's father in law, a decree was passed peremp

torily commanding Caesar by a certain day to disband his army, and declaring him a public enemy if he should refuse to obey. Two tribunes, M. Antonius and Q. Cassius, opposed the decree, but in vain, and as it was evident that Pompey was now resolved to crush Caesar if he could, they fled in disguise to Caesar, and called upon him to protect the inviolable persons of the tribunes. This was the decisive moment. The senate ordered the magistrates at Rome to provide for the safety of the republic, they then entrusted to Pompey the whole management of the war, desired him to levy troops, and placed large sums of money at his disposal. Pompey all along had no apprehensions, he thought it impossible that Caesar should ever march against him, he trusted to his great fame, and fancied that at his first call all Italy would flock around him. Every precaution, therefore, was neglected, and the only military force which Pompey had in Italy were the two legions which Caesar had sent from Gaul. Pompey and the aristocracy had further indulged in the idle belief that Caesar's troops were worn out by their long fatigues, and were ready to desert their leader on the first opportunity. But the senatorial party had so much miscalculated the sympathies of the Italians, that it was found very difficult to raise an army, and the soldiers that were enlisted were resolved to pass over to Caesar as soon as possible. Every thing was thus in a state of the greatest confusion, when the tidings came that Caesar was approaching. Pompey himself being quite bewildered, was advised by Cicero to negotiate with Caesar; but the folly and presumption of the senatorial party would not hear of any such thing, and the storm which had long been gathering burst forth with irresistible fury.

CHAPTER XXXIV

CIVIL WAR BETWEEN CAESAR AND POMPEY —BATTLE OF PHARSALUS AND POMPEY'S FLIGHT AND DEATH.—THE ALEXANDRINE WAR —WAR AGAINST PHARNACES AND CAESAR'S RETURN TO ITALY

WHEN Caesar was informed of the last decree of the senate, and when the tribunes arrived at Ravenna to implore his protection, he assembled his soldiers and called upon them to remain faithful to him as they declared themselves ready to follow him whithersoever he might lead them, he marched towards the little river Rubicon, which formed the boundary between his province of Cisalpine Gaul and Italy, and which, without the permission of the senate, no general was allowed to cross with an army When he arrived on its banks, he hesitated for a time whether he should sacrifice himself or commit the illegal act he then called out, "The die is cast," and crossed the river with only one legion His other troops were still in Transalpine Gaul but had received orders to follow him He had indeed reason to hasten, as it was necessary for him to prevent his enemies from completing the preparations they were making But his popularity was so great that the towns of Arminum, Pisanum, Ancona, Iguvium, and Auximum, opened their gates to him as soon as he appeared, and his progress was like a triumph At Rome every one was in the utmost consternation, and Pompey was at a loss what to do, for he had confidently expected that all Caesar's troops would desert their leader and flock to his standard and with his few and unsoldierly recruits he was unable to maintain himself in Rome He therefore quitted the city in the evening, without even taking with him the money from the public treasury, and at his bidding the consuls,

senators, and other men of rank and distinction followed him He first went to Capua, and thence to Brundusium, from whence he intended to proceed to Greece This disgraceful flight produced the greatest confusion and despondency among those who could not leave the city, for on the one hand they were denounced as partisans of Caesar and threatened with all possible punishments by Pompey while on the other hand, they anticipated nothing short of the horrors of the times of Marius and Sulla if Caesar should enter the city Caesar in the mean time continued his march towards Corfinium This town was occupied by a strong garrison under the command of L Domitius, who had been appointed to succeed Caesar in the administration of Gaul Here again the popularity of Caesar's cause soon became manifest, for the soldiers deserted Domitius and went over to Caesar, and as Pompey did not send any succours Domitius being unable to maintain himself was obliged to surrender at discretion The moderation and clemency which Caesar showed here as well as in other places won for him the hearts of all Italy, and his popularity increased while that of Pompey diminished the further he removed from Rome

Pompey reached Brundusium before the arrival of Caesar, who pursued his enemy thither leaving Rome for the present On the 17th of March Pompey fled from Brundusium to Dyrrhachium, without Caesar being able to prevent or follow him, for he had no ships Cicero, who had accompanied Pompey as far as Brundusium and who endeavoured to persuade him to negotiate with his enemy, remained in Italy, and was requested by Caesar to keep quiet After the departure of Pompey, all Italy joined Caesar He now proceeded to Rome with the intention of attacking Afranius and Petreius, the legates of Pompey in Spain who had a powerful army at their command, and might easily transfer the war into Italy On his arrival in Rome, he behaved with great mildness, but in every other respect he acted like a sovereign. When he wanted to take the money from the public treasury for his own purposes, the tribune L Metellus

battle against Juba, king of Numidia, who supported P Attius Varus, a Pompeian commander, he was defeated and killed C Antonius, who had gone to Illyricum, was as unfortunate as Curio, for his army was defeated and he himself taken prisoner, but Q Valerius, who had been sent into Sardinia, took possession of that island without any opposition These reverses in Africa and Illyricum, however, were more than counterbalanced by Caesar's own victory in Spain.

At the time when Caesar was yet engaged at Massilia, he received intelligence from Rome that he had been nominated dictator by the praetor M Lepidus This appointment which was illegal, because no praetor had a right to nominate a dictator, had probably been preconcerted between Caesar and Lepidus, as Caesar wished to return to Rome in some high official character He now hastened to Rome to enter upon his new office, but after the consular elections, and when he himself together with P Servilius had been appointed consul, he laid down his dictatorship, having held it only eleven days This happened in December, B C 49 During his short dictatorship, Caesar passed several laws which were reasonable and salutary One of them was calculated to relieve debtors, and at the same time to protect the rights of creditors, another reversed the sentences passed upon several persons who had been condemned by some laws of Pompey's last consulship, and several exiles were accordingly recalled, the descendants of those who had been proscribed by Sulla were restored to their rights as citizens, and the inhabitants of the country between the Po and the Alps received the Roman franchise as a reward for their faithful support of Caesar's cause As the Cisalpine Gauls now acquired the right of wearing the dress of Roman citizens (the *toga*), their country was henceforth called Gallia togata

In the mean time his army returned from Spain, and as soon as new legions were formed, Caesar set out in December, B C 49, from Rome for Brundusium, to pursue Pompey The latter had not been idle during the time that Caesar was engaged in

broke out among his soldiers, at length induced him to give up the siege of Dyrrhachium Had Pompey known how to follow up his advantages, he might now have brought the struggle to a conclusion His friends advised him to return to Italy, or to exhaust and destroy his enemy by protracting the war in Epirus, where he might remain in constant communication with the sea But Caesar, unconquered by his reverses, ventured on a step which in boldness surpasses every thing that he had yet done He marched from Dyrrhachium in the direction towards Thessaly, a quarter in which he could reckon upon no one, and every inch of ground had to be conquered Pompey, inflated with his success and seeing his enemy retreating, now fancied he could decide the war by a single blow he followed Caesar, who pitched his camp in the neighbourhood of Pharsalus, or Pharsalia. When Pompey came up, he with the more sensible of his friends, was of opinion that they ought to act with great caution, and endeavour to wear out Caesar, but most of his officers, flushed with their recent victory, insisted upon giving battle immediately This was the very thing which Caesar desired Pompey's army was still more than double the number of Caesar's, but the soldiers of the latter were well trained and well disciplined veterans, whereas those of Pompey were for the most part inexperienced young men The decisive battle was fought on the ninth of August, B C 48, in the plain of Pharsalus Pompey's army was completely defeated, and soon after his camp, with all its luxuries, comforts and treasures, also fell into the hands of the conqueror During the battle Caesar had given orders to spare the lives of Roman citizens as much as possible, and in consequence of this humane command whole regiments passed over to him

The battle of Pharsalus at once decided the fate of Pompey and the republic Pompey lost all his courage and his senses to boot he fled from the battle-field to Lesbos, and thence to Cyprus and Egypt, where he had reason to hope he might find

should interfere with the affairs of Alexandria on her behalf, he demanded the carrying into effect the will of the late king, and that Cleopatra and her brother Ptolemy Dionysus should reign in common. This demand being opposed by the guardians of the young king, a war broke out in the city of Alexandria, in which Caesar for some time was exposed to great danger on account of the small number of troops which he had with him. He was besieged in the palace by the populace, and it was only at the peril of his life that he escaped, by swimming to a ship which was lying at anchor in the neighbourhood. His purple robe was hung up by the Egyptians in a temple as a trophy. During this tumult the young king was drowned in the Nile, and his army dispersed. Caesar in the meantime having received his reinforcements compelled Alexandria to surrender, and restored Cleopatra to the throne. He was so completely ensnared by the queen's fascinations and coquetry, that he stayed with her for nine months, though it is stated that he was prevented by contrary winds from sailing away from Alexandria.

At length Caesar resolved to tear himself away from the luxuries of the Alexandrine court: having received intelligence that Cn. Domitius Calvinus, one of his legates, had been defeated by Pharnaces, the son of Mithridates, who was endeavouring to recover the countries which his father had once ruled over, he broke up from Alexandria in the spring of B.C. 47, and marched through Syria into Pontus. This campaign did not detain him long, for on his arrival in Pontus he immediately attacked the enemy in the neighbourhood of Zela, and the Asiatics were utterly defeated in a moment. It was concerning this victory over Pharnaces, that Caesar sent to Rome the celebrated Laconic report, "I came, saw, and conquered."[1] On his march through Phrygia he pardoned Deiotarus, tetrarch of Galatia, a partisan of Pompey, and he afforded protection to various cities against the oppression they were subjected to by the farmers of

[1] *Veni, vidi, vici.* Sueton. *Caes.* 37, Hirt. *De Bell. Alex.* 65, &c.

CHAPTER XXXV

STATE OF THINGS AT ROME DURING CAESAR'S ABSENCE.—PROCEEDINGS OF THE POMPEIAN PARTY.—THE AFRICAN WAR.—CAESAR'S REGULATIONS AND REFORMS.—THE WAR IN SPAIN AGAINST POMPEY'S SONS.—CAESAR'S CONDUCT AS A RULER.—HIS DEATH.

When the news of the battle of Pharsalus reached Rome the enthusiasm was so great that immediately several laws were passed to testify to Caesar the gratitude and admiration of the Roman people and the powers which the senate conferred upon him made him in reality the sovereign of the republic. He was nominated dictator a second time in his absence and that for a whole year. He received this intelligence and entered upon his dictatorship in September B.C. 48 when he made M. Antony his master of the horse who forthwith went to Italy for the purpose of maintaining order there. Caesar was further appointed consul for the next five years though he did not avail himself of this honour and was invested with the power of tribune of the people for life. He had also conferred upon him the right of presiding at all the elections of magistrates except the tribunes. As he was absent from Rome no magistrates were elected for the year B.C. 47 except the tribunes. The senate and people thus rivalled each other in showing their servility towards Caesar and in conferring upon him the most extravagant distinctions but it may be urged in their excuse that their admiration was raised to the highest pitch by the unexpected and unexampled mildness which he showed towards his conquered enemies.

The long period between the battle of Pharsalus and Caesar's return to Rome had been actively employed by the friends and partisans of Pompey in collecting their scattered forces. After

the battle, Cato went to Cyrene, where he gathered around him all the Romans he could, whom he led along the north coast of Libya into the province of Africa, where he joined the other leaders of the Pompeian party, Q Metellus Scipio, Pompey's father in law, and Afranius and Petreius Cato undertook the command of Utica The Pompeians were allied with Juba, king of Numidia they had a large army at their command, and were quite prepared to meet their enemy But Bocchus, king of Mauritania, with a number of Roman adventurers who were residing in his kingdom, and were formed into a regular army by one P Sittius, declared in favour of Caesar, which greatly facilitated his proceedings when he arrived in Africa

On Caesar's return to Rome, in September, B C 47, he found things in the greatest confusion Disturbances had broken out there, in consequence of disputes between M Antony and P Cornelius Dolabella, the son-in law of Cicero, a person who bade fair to become a second Clodius or Catiline Antony was a man of talent and energy, but passionate and audacious in the highest degree Dolabella had contracted enormous debts, and in order to obtain the means of getting out of his difficulties he contrived to become tribune for B C 48 He now brought forward two monstrous rogations, one of which was intended to cancel all debts, the other to reduce all house-rent Antony had at first supported Dolabella, but when he was informed that there existed a secret understanding between his own wife and Dolabella, he turned against him Some of Dolabella's colleagues likewise opposed his rogations, and bloody scenes took place at Rome between the two parties which had been thus formed, but when the rogations were put to the vote Dolabella was defeated The quarrels and riots, notwithstanding, continued until the arrival of Caesar, who restored peace and order He was greatly dissatisfied with Dolabella's conduct, but did not think it prudent to take him to account All he could do was to remove him from Rome, by taking him with him soon after to Africa. A mutiny had also broken out in one of the legions stationed at Capua,

which affair might have become very serious, had not Caesar succeeded in quelling the insurrection. After the settlement of these things, he caused himself to be nominated dictator for another year, and made M. Aemilius Lepidus his master of the horse. The property of Pompey and of some of his friends was confiscated and publicly sold. In order to have an opportunity of rewarding the services of his own friends, Caesar increased the number of praetors to sixteen, that of the quaestors to forty, that of the aediles to six; he also enlarged the colleges of priests. Finally, a great number of his friends and partisans were introduced into the senate. Having caused himself and Lepidus to be elected consuls for the year following, he made preparations for his African campaign. The whole of his stay at Rome, on this occasion, embraces no more than the short period of two or three months.

At the beginning of the year B. C. 46, Caesar arrived in Africa, and forthwith began the war against the Pompeian party. They were in alliance, as we have already observed, with king Juba, and their army was far more numerous than that which Caesar could oppose to them, but he was not a man to be alarmed by disparity of numbers. At first he was in considerable difficulties, but when his reinforcements arrived he was enabled to carry on the war with great vigour, until it was decided, in the beginning of April, by the battle of Thapsus, in which the Pompeian party was completely defeated. Juba was obliged to quit his kingdom, and he and Petreius afterwards killed each other. Cato, who had the command of Utica, finding himself unable to maintain the place, prevailed upon the inhabitants to surrender to Caesar, but before the gates were thrown open, he put an end to his own life, to save himself the pain of surviving the fall of the republic. He died the death of a hero and a philosopher. Although the state of things he longed for had passed away and was irrecoverable, still he deserves our admiration, for among all the Pompeians there was not a man so sincere and honest as Cato. After the surrender of Utica, all the

other towns of Africa likewise opened their gates Scipio took to flight, and after having had a hard struggle at sea with the fleet of the enemy was at last drowned All the champions of the Pompeian party had now perished, partly in battles and partly by their own hands The two sons of Pompey, Cneius and Sextus, had alone escaped from Africa into Spain, where some time after they stirred up a fresh war Numidia was made a Roman province, and Crispus Sallustius, one of Caesar's partisans was entrusted with its administration He there amassed enormous riches, in the enjoyment of which he spent the latter years of his life, living retired from public life, and devoting his time to the composition of historical works, two of which we still admire as most masterly compositions

Caesar, who was now sole master of the whole Roman world, returned to Rome by the latter end of July As he approached the city, the greatest apprehensions prevailed lest, notwithstanding his former clemency, he might imitate the examples of Marius and Sulla But these fears were perfectly groundless, for revenge and cruelty formed no part of Caesar s character with a magnanimity rarely to be met with in conquerors, and least of all in civil wars, he not only proclaimed a general amnesty, but declared that he should make no difference between Pompeians and Caesarians, for his object now was to allay all animosities, and to secure the lives and property of the citizens Before he arrived at Rome, the senate, after receiving intelligence of Caesar's African victory, hastened to decree a public thanksgiving of forty days to confer upon him the dictatorship for ten years, and the censorship, under the new title of *praefectura morum* for three years and to erect a statue to him in the Capitol Having now overcome all his enemies, he availed himself of the general peace which was prevailing to celebrate his four triumphs, one over Gaul, the second over Egypt, the third over Pontus and the fourth over Juba In order not to hurt their feelings, those Romans whom he had conquered in the civil wars were not mentioned as the subject of his triumphs These

triumphs were followed by largesses of corn and money to the people and the soldiers, by public banquets and all kinds of entertainments, amid which the thoughtless multitude easily forgot the loss of liberty all they cared for was to be well fed and amused

Caesar's next care was directed towards the improvement of the law By some severe enactments against indulgence in luxuries, he endeavoured to restrain the reckless extravagance which pervaded all classes of society As he himself knew too well the consequences to which a prolonged administration of a province might lead he carried a law ordaining that no praetor should have the administration of a province longer than one year and no consul longer than two But the most important of all his regulations was the reformation of the Roman calendar for this was a benefit not only to his own country but to the whole of the civilised world He undertook this task in his character of pontifex maximus and was assisted in it by the Greek mathematician Sosigenes of Alexandria and by M Flavius The management of the calendar had always been in the hands of the pontiffs who were accustomed to lengthen or shorten the year as they pleased for political purposes and the confusion had then become so great that the Roman year was three months in advance of the real time Caesar added ninety days to the year B C 46, which was thus made to consist of 445 days he provided at the same time against the repetition of such confusion and made regulations that in future the duration of the year should be strictly adapted to the course of the sun

While Caesar was engaged in these peaceful and useful occupations he received intelligence of a formidable insurrection which had broken out in Spain Pompey's sons Cneius and Sextus who had escaped from Africa had collected in Spain the remnants of the Pompeian army They were joined by others, and soon the whole of southern Spain was in arms though there was little agreement among the several towns as to how the war should be carried on It was the last struggle of the Pompeian

party, but it was the most obstinate and desperate of all they fought like lions, for they well knew that they must either conquer or die Caesar's good fortune, however, did not forsake him Towards the end of B C 46, he set out for Spain and, with his usual quickness arrived in the neighbourhood of Corduba in twenty seven days after leaving Rome His enemies had taken up a very favourable position, and were able to offer a stronger opposition than he could have anticipated, but the war was brought to a close in the bloody battle of Munda, on the 17th of March, B C 45 He entirely defeated his enemies, but not without the greatest efforts and dangers, for his troops were already retreating, and Caesar himself is said to have been so desponding that he thought of making away with himself But he rallied, threw himself in the way of his fugitive soldiers and thus stayed their flight He destroyed the several détachments of the hostile army one by one, in the act of their dispersion, for they were resolved not to accept his pardon Cneius fled with the rest to Carteia where he embarked But in entering the ship he got entangled in a rope and one of his companions who endeavoured to cut the rope through wounded him in the foot Cneius returned to the shore to have his wound cured before sailing away, but he was overtaken and cut down His brother Sextus escaped into the country of the Celtiberians, where he led a sort of robber's life, till after the death of Caesar when he came forward again Notwithstanding the decisive victory of Munda Caesar was detained in Spain for several months, partly by the pursuit of the several detachments of his enemies, and partly by the regulations which he had to make in the province after its pacification He was thus unable to return to Rome before October

When he arrived in the city, he celebrated his victory over the Pompeians in Spain, although it was a victory over Roman citizens, for he now was no longer scrupulous about such matters, but many of the Romans must have felt the difference between this and his former triumphs The senators however, received the conqueror with the most abject flattery and servility, and all

seemed to vie with one another in paying him every species of adulation and homage Even before his arrival in the city, a public thanksgiving of fifty days had been decreed in his honour and after his triumph distinctions were literally showered upon him he received the privilege of wearing the triumphal robe on all public occasions with the title of "father of his country," the month of Quintilis in which he was born, was called after him Julius (July) his statues were placed in all the temples and he himself was ranked with the gods Of a more substantial form were the decrees by which the powers he had gradually acquired were legally sanctioned and secured to him for life for he received the title of imperator for life was appointed consul for the next ten years and both dictator and praefectus morum for life he obtained the powers of a tribune his person was declared sacred and inviolable and the whole senate promised by an oath to watch over his safety Half the magistracies were now in his gift and for the other half he recommended the candidates the tribunes alone continued to be elected by the people Caesar was, in fact, the acknowledged sovereign of the Roman world but he was withal in the sad predicament of a tyrant he was an usurper of the supreme power in a republic he had accordingly to maintain not only his ascendancy which any one might have disputed with him but to establish his right to govern and his qualification for it The state of Italy and the provinces was such that he could not possibly introduce any material improvement of which he seems to have been well aware himself for among all his regulations and reforms there is no attempt to remedy the evils of the constitution he seems at least to have been convinced, that he must first place his sovereign power on a sure basis before he could venture upon any great constitutional reform But what he actually did was on the whole for the good of the state, and there certainly was no man living who had more good will, energy and ability to benefit the state than Caesar His usurpation moreover differs from that of other usurpers in this that the republic was in reality gone long

before he set himself up as a ruler he did not upset the republic, but found it already a wreck, of which he endeavoured to save as much as possible

The time which intervened between Caesar's victory over the sons of Pompey and his assassination was too short to allow him to exhibit all his powers and qualifications, but from the little he effected, we may form some idea of what he would have accomplished if his life had been spared He still continued as before to pursue his merciful course, and no proscriptions or executions were resorted to He formed vast plans of improvement in which he might occupy himself, for he had been accustomed for many years to the most restless activity, and could not have existed without it He intended to frame a complete code of laws to establish public libraries, to drain the Pomptine marshes, to enlarge the harbour of Ostia, to cut a canal through the Isthmus of Corinth, and to execute a variety of other undertakings, which would have been of the highest utility It was unfortunate that in order to reward his veterans, he should have imitated the example of Sulla and established military colonies in Gaul, Italy, and Africa, in consequence of which the children of the Sullanian colonists were in many instances driven from their homes, Corinth and Carthage were likewise to be newly colonised But Caesar's main object was to increase and secure the Roman dominion in the east, and to take vengeance for the legions of Crassus which lay buried there, for which purpose he planned an expedition against the Parthians He further contemplated waging war against the Thracians and Scythians on the Danube

Amidst preparations for these comprehensive schemes, he entered on his fifth consulship in B C 44 M Antony being his colleague, and M Lepidus his master of the horse Caesar had for some time past been maturing a plan for preserving the sovereignty in his own family, and as he had no legitimate children he fixed upon his great nephew, M Octavius (afterwards the emperor Augustus), to be his successor, whom he accordingly adopted as his son He was further anxious to add to his own regal

power the title of king as an outward legalisation of his power and a plan was accordingly formed with M. Antony who was to offer him the diadem during the celebration of the Lupercalia, on the 15th of February When the day came Antony's proposal was not received so favourably as had been anticipated, wherefore Caesar for the present declined the honour hoping for another more favourable opportunity for how strongly he was bent upon having the regal title became evident soon after Antony having caused a statue of Caesar to be crowned two tribunes ordered the crown to be taken away which gave such offence to the dictator that he was on the point of having them put to death, and it was only with difficulty that he was prevailed upon to be satisfied with their being sent into exile Such occurrences as these showed that there were some men at Rome who still cherished a republican feeling and were prepared to resist any formal abolition of the republic to the last It is however to be regretted that Caesar's scheme was not carried into effect the Roman people would have been saved infinite misery the monarchy would have become an hereditary and not an elective one and it could never have fallen into the hands of an insolent and rapacious soldiery who in the end went so far as to sell the imperial throne to the highest bidder

In the mean time a conspiracy had been formed against the life of Caesar from the very beginning of the year B C 44 It was headed by C Cassius Longinus and M. Brutus and upwards of sixty persons were privy to it Brutus was a nephew of Cato, from whom he had imbibed his republican sentiments he had received an excellent education and possessed very great talent which gained for him the esteem and friendship of both Cicero and Caesar In the battle of Pharsalus, Brutus fought in the ranks of Pompey but immediately after his victory Caesar pardoned him had since placed the greatest confidence in him and continued to distinguish him on every occasion. But with Brutus a sincere love of freedom overweighed every other consideration and he seems to have really believed that by the death

of Caesar a service would be done to a good cause, and the republic could even be revived. The other conspirators were mostly actuated by mere personal hatred and animosity; and republican liberty with them was only a name under the cover of which they hoped to take revenge for wounded pride and disappointment. A striking example of this class among the conspirators was Cassius He too had belonged to the Pompeian party, and had been pardoned by Caesar. He had been a candidate for the praetorship for the year B C. 44, and hoped to obtain the city praetorship; but when Caesar gave that office to Brutus, Cassius became indignant against Brutus as well as Caesar, and resolved to take vengeance: it was Cassius that contrived to gain over Brutus to join the conspirators. Caesar was cautioned in time, and advised to take a body-guard, but he magnanimously declined it, saying that he would rather not live at all, than be for ever in fear of losing his life M Antony was likewise proposed to be assassinated, and much misery would have been prevented if he too had been sacrificed, but Brutus thought that the death of Caesar would be sufficient, and Antony was accordingly spared

The republicans, for thus the conspirators styled themselves, were resolved to take the first opportunity of despatching Caesar, and as it usually happens under such circumstances, they were so bent upon destroying the object of their antipathy that they did not consider what was to take its place, so that the execution of their design was immediately followed by the utmost confusion and perplexity. Some of the troops that were to serve in the Parthian war had already been sent to Brundusium, but when the Sibylline books were consulted it was found that the Parthians could be conquered only by a king A meeting of the senate was therefore announced for the 15th of March, at which a proposal was to be made to appoint Caesar king out of Italy That day was fixed upon by the conspirators as a most favourable opportunity for carrying out their design The meeting of the senate took place in the curia of Pompey. Caesar had been

ralised the people still more, and would have established their own greatness upon the ruins of their country It is only necessary to recollect the latter years of the republic, the depravity and corruption of the ruling class the scenes of violence and blood shed which constantly occurred in the streets of Rome, to render it evident to every one that peace and security could not be restored, except by the strong hand of a sovereign, and the Roman world would have been indeed fortunate if it had submitted to the mild and beneficent sway of Caesar

over the murderers, which was further increased by his appropriating to himself also the contents of the public treasury The next day Brutus came down from the Capitol, and addressed the people The conspirators had hired a number of persons, who in the name of the people called out for peace and reconciliation, that is, for impunity to the conspirators A few responded to the call, but the multitude remained dumb, and the murderers had now the positive certainty that their cause was not a popular one They had reason to fear on every hand, for, in the night, M Lepidus, who had been stationed with an army near the city, entered the gates, either with a view of avenging the murder of Caesar, and supporting Antony, or of placing himself at the head of the state The conspirators began therefore to negotiate with Antony and Lepidus about the restoration of peace, and the means of averting the impending danger Antony sent them an evasive answer, and referred them to the senate On the 17th a meeting of the senate was held in the temple of Tellus, but the murderers did not appear Antony, with the greatest apparent moderation, had most cunningly contrived to discover the weak points of the friends of the murderers, and seeing that they themselves were not agreed as to the course to be pursued, and that an attack from without would defeat them altogether, he hastened with Lepidus to the forum, where they intimated to the people that no one's life was safe Many therefore immediately called upon them to avenge the murder of the dictator, but a far greater number demanded the maintenance of peace, having been bribed by the murderers, and promised by them that they should receive all that Caesar had bequeathed to them in his will Antony's plan thus failing, he returned to the senate, where a decree was soon after made, that no judicial investigation should be instituted against the murderers yet that all the acts and regulations of Caesar should remain in force and be valid, that the wishes and regulations contained in his will should be adhered to, and that his body should be buried at the public expense This decree was the result of the exertions

province, and there made the troops take the oath of allegiance to him When the storm had been raging long enough, Antony resumed his mask and restored peace, but peace was not the thing which he wanted

Being in possession of Caesar's papers, he conducted himself like a despot, pretending that all he did was in accordance with the desires of Caesar, as expressed in his written documents He contrived to secure the good will of the veterans, forbade Caesar's murderers to return to the city, and in conjunction with Lepidus made a new division of the provinces, different from that which had been made by Caesar himself He induced the people to give Macedonia to himself, and Syria to Dolabella, his friend and colleague in the consulship Soon after this he again made the people sanction a different arrangement, contrary to the will of the senate, according to which he himself obtained Cisalpine Gaul, his brother, C Antonius, Macedonia, and Dolabella Syria With regard to Lepidus, who had received Transalpine Gaul from Caesar, no alteration was made This distribution was the signal for a fresh civil war, for Cisalpine Gaul could not be taken possession of without expelling D Brutus from it by force of arms In this manner Antony for some months acted in the most arbitrary and insolent manner, as if he had already been the real sovereign of the Roman world He was dreaded by all, and no one had a greater aversion to him than Cicero, who had resolved to leave Rome, and accompany his son in law, Dolabella, as legate into his province of Syria, but was prevailed upon by his friends to return to Rome The day after his return, the 1st of September, Antony came openly forward with his schemes in the senate, intending to compel every one to declare his opinions unreservedly, and show to what party he belonged Cicero did not attend on that day, at which Antony was so much enraged, that he threatened to have his house demolished The day following another meeting of the senate took place, and Cicero now, with all the force of his eloquence, attacked and laid open the shameful proceedings of Antony who, not expecting

such an assault, was not present at the meeting The speech which Cicero delivered that day is still extant it forms the first of a series called the Philippics

In the meantime a formidable rival of Antony came to Rome M Octavius, whom Caesar had adopted in his will, and whom he had made heir of three fourths of his private property, was the son of C Octavius by Atia, a daughter of Caesar's sister Julia Some months before his death Caesar had sent him to Apollonia from whence he intended to take him with him on his expedition against the Parthians When M Octavius received the intelligence of the murder of his great uncle, he resolved, contrary to the advice of his more cautious friends, to go to Italy, though he was then scarcely nineteen years old This step, under the circumstances, was one of extreme boldness, as he could not foresee what would be his fate in the distracted state of the republic He even declined the assistance of the troops who were stationed in Illyricum, and who offered to accompany him and avenge his great uncle's death About two months after the murder of Caesar, he arrived at Rome as a private person, accompanied only by a few friends On his arrival at Brundusium he was saluted by the troops as Caesar, for being the adopted son of the late dictator, his name was now C Julius Caesar Octavianus When he came to Rome he demanded nothing but the property which his uncle had left him This was rather awkward for Antony, who was in possession of the whole of Caesar s property and had already made use of it in paying his own enormous debts, and in gratifying his dissipated habits He therefore attempted by every means to dissuade and deter Octavianus from accepting the inheritance Octavianus was in a very perplexing situation, for he could not possibly join the party of the murderers of his uncle, and Antony who pretended to be the avenger of Caesar and the champion of his party, was the greatest obstacle in his way The extraordinary tact and prudence which Octavianus displayed in these circumstances, and the dexterity with which he contrived to deceive and blind the first

men of the age, show that he must have possessed uncommon mental powers he was, however, supported and encouraged by the advice of his friend M Vipsanius Agrippa The enmity between Octavianus and Antony soon rose to such a pitch, that reports were spread of attempts having been made by each of them to destroy the other Octavianus, while demanding his inheritance, promised the people that every thing should be given to them which his uncle had destined for them in his will His prudent conduct gained for him the favour of the senate, as well as of the people, and Cicero also began to look upon him with confidence as the only man capable of bringing about a better state of things All Antony's efforts after this to keep possession of the treasures of Caesar were of no avail, and he was obliged to give up the portion which he had not yet spent

Octavianus had before him two enemies, D Brutus in Cisalpine Gaul, and Antony the question was, whom should he attack first? Antony was bringing troops into Italy for the purpose of undertaking the war against D Brutus, who was in possession of that province, which Antony had chosen for himself, at the same time Octavianus was increasing and strengthening his own party, and likewise collecting an army in Campania Two of the legions that came over from Macedonia for Antony soon after their arrival went over to Octavianus in order to prevent the others from following their example, Antony hastened with them to the north of Italy Cicero had become a strong supporter of Octavianus and in his Philippics continued to attack Antony In the end he succeeded in inducing the senate to support even D Brutus, for in the month of December he proposed in his third Philippic to give an army to Octavianus that he might conduct the war against Antony, who was declared a public enemy On the first of January, B C 43, Cicero repeated the proposal, and the senate now conferred upon Octavianus the title and ensigns of praetor, and sent him along with A. Hirtius and C Vibius Pansa, the two consuls of the year, both of them friends of the late dictator, to the north of Italy, to relieve

D Brutus, who had thrown himself into Mutina (Modena) and was besieged by Antony Several engagements took place with varying success Pansa took up his position at Bononia (Bologna), and as he advanced to join his colleague and Octavianus, he was attacked by Antony in the village of Forum Gallorum, in a defile, when being dangerously wounded he retreated to his camp, up to which Antony pursued him, but on the next day when Antony returned in order not to be cut off from his main army about Mutina, he was surprised in the same defile by Hirtius, and suffered so severe a defeat, that he was scarcely able to reach his camp Soon after Hirtius attacked him in his camp, while at the same time D Brutus made a sally from the town Hirtius had already scaled the fortifications, when he was killed by an unknown hand. Antony was so much reduced in this engagement, which took place towards the end of April, that he took to flight The consul Pansa having in the mean time died at Bononia, there was a report, perhaps not without some foundation, that Octavianus had caused the death of the two consuls, for it was said that he had poisoned the wound of Pansa, and that Hirtius had fallen by an assassin whom Octavianus had hired for the purpose However this may be, he now undertook the command of the army without waiting for the orders of the senate. But the aristocratic party at Rome were determined to prevent him from acquiring any further power, and soon after assigned the command of the consular armies to D Brutus, with orders to prosecute the war against Antony

Antony had become quite bewildered by his defeat he resolved to quit Italy, and fled across the Alps into the province of M. Lepidus, who afforded him protection, and whose army saluted him as imperator As Lepidus had a large force at his command, Antony soon found himself in a condition to continue the war with greater vigour than before When the decree of the senate, giving the command of the consular armies to D Brutus, arrived, Octavianus concealed his exasperation, and submitted to what he must have considered a very great indignity, that one of Caesar's

murderers should be entrusted with the command of two consular armies Afterwards, on his return to Rome with his army, he demanded the consulship for the year following The aristocracy refused to comply with his request, but he carried his point by the threats of his veterans, who insisted on the office for their leader Q Pedius, one of his relatives, was elected his colleague, and the two entered upon their consulship in the month of August, B C 43 After the legacies of the late dictator had been distributed among the people, Q Pedius got a law passed by which all the murderers of Caesar were declared outlaws, and Octavianus was appointed to carry this law into effect All the accomplices of Brutus and Cassius, who until then felt perfectly secure, now took to flight, but they were dogged and hunted like wild beasts Octavianus marched with an army to the north of Italy, but he had scarcely entered Etruria when the senate, on the proposal of Pedius, repealed the decree of outlawry which had been pronounced against Antony and Lepidus, who were at this very moment descending from the Alps into Italy with an army of seventeen legions D Brutus, abandoned and betrayed by his lieutenants, took to flight, and was murdered at Aquileia by the command of Antony In the neighbourhood of Bononia, in a small island of the river Rhenus, a conference was brought about by Lepidus between Octavianus and Antony, and negotiations were at once entered into Octavianus dreaded the influence of his opponents in the city they even threatened to ally themselves with Brutus and Cassius who had by this time collected large armies, but his fear and cunning suggested to him the means of thwarting their designs Towards the end of November, Octavianus Antony, and Lepidus, entered into an alliance known under the name of the triumvirate They assumed the title of *triumviri rei publicae constituendae* and agreed to hold this office for five years Hereupon they distributed on their own authority, the provinces among themselves Octavianus received Africa Sicily and Sardinia, Antony Gaul and Lepidus Spain Lepidus was at the same time to be invested with the

consulship, while Octavianus and Antony were to carry on the war against Brutus and Cassius The favour of the rapacious soldiery was obtained by the promise that lands should be distributed among them

The government of the whole of the Roman world was thus usurped by the triumvirs Their first care was to rid themselves of their opponents each, therefore, drew up a list of those whom he wished to be proscribed, and whose property was to be confiscated, each also entered in his list the names of those persons whom either of the others wished to be proscribed. Antony thus put down the name of L. Caesar, his own uncle, Lepidus, that of his own brother, Paulus, and Octavianus, to please Antony, is said to have entered the name of Cicero who up to this time had acted towards him as a friend The proscription in the time of Sulla had been the result of an infuriated party spirit, for Sulla had been provoked in the highest degree, and he sacrificed his enemies without any scruple because he really hated them, plunder being only a secondary object, but with the triumvirs the proscription was dictated by a cold blooded revenge, and plunder seems after all, to have been one of the main objects, for many a person who had given no offence to any one was put on the list merely because he was wealthy

When all this was arranged the triumvirs returned to Rome, whither dread und horror preceded them They entered the city without meeting with any resistance. The consul, Q. Pedius, died in the night previous to their arrival. When all quarters of the city and all the public places were occupied by the soldiers, the triumvirs got a tribune to propose to the people to sanction the arrangements they had made, and no sooner was the sanction obtained, than the lists of the proscribed were distributed among the commanders of the forces stationed in the city The most merciless murder and butchery now commenced in all quarters A proclamation was issued at the same time, threatening with death any one who should conceal or protect a proscribed person, and

offering freedom as a reward to slaves who should kill their proscribed masters, nay, the relatives of the murdered were forbidden to show grief at the death of those who were dear to them Sons betrayed their fathers, and slaves their masters, but, in some instances, wives, slaves, and freedmen gave the noblest proofs of attachment and fidelity of a son magnanimously protecting his father, or sacrificing himself for him, unfortunately no instance occurred[1] The acts of horror and inhuman cruelty perpetrated at that time, to which revenge, avarice, and malice drove the brutal murderers as they traversed the city in all directions, surpass even the horrors committed in France during the revolution in the days of Robespierre, Danton, and Marat The murderers were, for the most part, centurions and tribunes of the soldiers they usually cut off the heads of their victims, in order to be able to prove their deeds and receive the promised rewards Two thousand equites, and three hundred senators were massacred during these days those who had an opportunity of escaping fled to Brutus and Cassius, or to Sicily, where they joined Sext Pompeius, who had already made himself master of the island.

One of the many victims of the triumvirs was Cicero When the lists of the proscribed were made public he was residing at his villa, near Tusculum He was at first undecided what to do, but his brother Quintus prevailed upon him to try to escape He accordingly went to Astura, where he took a boat and sailed to Caieta, near which place he had a villa, in the bay of Naples Here being unwell he was persuaded to allow himself to be carried in a lectica through a plantation to the sea coast, in the hope of eluding his pursuers, who were known to be close at hand, but in the plantation he was overtaken by Antony's emissaries His slaves were ready to fight for their master, but he forbade it, and as he put forward his head from the lectica, Popillius Laenas, whom Cicero is said to have once defended in a court of justice, cut off his head and right hand, as Antony had desired Thus

[1] Vell Pat ii 67

died Cicero, on the 7th of December, B C 43, one of the most remarkable men that ever lived, and one whose misfortune it is in our own time to be judged of, by most writers, with undue severity When Antony received the head and hand of Cicero, he was almost beside himself for joy he ordered the head to be put up in the rostra where Cicero's voice had so often stirred the multitude, and gave a large sum of money to his murderers Antony's wife, Fulvia, had previously ordered the head of her husband's enemy to be brought into her dressing room that she might feast her eyes on the dead features and she is said to have pricked his tongue with needles Cicero's brother Quintus was also murdered, but his son Marcus escaped to Greece Afterwards he was allowed to return to Rome, and in B C 30, Octavianus, perhaps from remorse for the wrong done to his father, raised him to the consulship

CHAPTER XXXVII

WAR AGAINST BRUTUS AND CASSIUS —WAR OF PERUSIA —TREATIES OF BRUNDUSIUM AND MISENUM —WAR AGAINST SEXTUS POMPEIUS

IMMEDIATELY after these scenes of horror, Octavianus resolved to attack Sext Pompeius in Sicily, who had it in his power to cut off all supplies of food which were destined for Rome, but a victory gained by Pompeius over Salvidienus Rufus, just as the latter was crossing over to the island, and that in the very sight of Octavianus, put for the present an end to the undertaking and soon after Octavianus and Antony sailed over to Greece, to carry on the war against Brutus and Cassius, who had in the meantime established themselves in the east and collected a numerous army Brutus, after quitting Italy, had gone to Athens, and after a short stay there he proceeded to Macedonia, which had been assigned to him by Caesar as his province, and where Q Hortensius received him as his lawful successor The legions also recognised him as their leader, and their example being followed by the legions stationed in Illyricum, he was in a short time plentifully provided with everything necessary for carrying on a war C Antonius, the brother of the triumvir, to whom Macedonia had subsequently been assigned, having arrived on the eastern coast of the Adriatic, and being unable to reach his province, was in the end obliged to surrender to Brutus, who disregarded all decrees of the Roman senate and acted entirely for himself After the establishment of the triumvirate he made serious preparations for war Cassius, in the mean time, fought bravely and successfully against Dolabella in Syria, who was in the end put to death at Laodicea

The two chiefs of the republican party were thus completely masters of all the countries east of the Adriatic In the beginning of the year B C 42, they met at Sardes, in Lydia, where they resolved to unite their forces against their common enemy, but for the sake of increasing their means they stood in Asia much longer than they ought to have done Their most advantageous plan would have been to hasten westward, in order to prevent their enemies landing on the coast of Epirus, but this was neglected, and Macedonia and Illyricum were not protected by any troops at all Under these circumstances Antony and Octavianus entered Greece, and made themselves masters of the country, before Brutus and Cassius quitted Asia Just before Brutus crossed the Hellespont to proceed to Macedonia, he sat one night meditating in his tent, when on a sudden a gigantic figure appeared before him, and seemed to approach him Brutus asked him who he was, and what he wanted, whereupon the phantom replied "Brutus I am thy evil spirit thou wilt see me again at Philippi" Brutus answered, "I will see thee,' and the vision disappeared Dark forebodings in his own heart, respecting the issue of the war, seem to have conjured up before his eyes this singular phantom

The republican army, consisting of 80 000 foot and 20,000 horse, marched through Thrace towards Macedonia Antony and Octavianus had already penetrated into that province, and had taken up their winter quarters at Amphipolis The republicans pitched their camp on high ground in the neighbourhood of the town of Philippi Their fleet, which ought to have been near at hand was in the western seas Antony advanced against them with nineteen legions and 13,000 horse. Brutus and Cassius had a great advantage in their position and in the faithful attachment of their soldiers, for a great many illustrious Romans and persons of rank who had been proscribed were serving under them, and were resolved to fight to the last Brutus was cautious and wanted to defer coming to a decisive engagement but his army was impatient and demanded to be led on to battle

Octavianus was not present, being kept away by illness, or, as some say, by cowardice, but his army, which was probably commanded by Agrippa, faced that of Brutus Cassius, whose army was opposed to that of Antony, was completely beaten, and, believing that every thing was lost, he sent a messenger to inquire in what condition the army of Brutus was The messenger did not come back Brutus, who was victorious, in the mean time sent reinforcements to Cassius, who, thinking that they were his enemies following up their victory, now felt more convinced than ever that all was lost, and requested one of his servants to take away his life When Brutus was informed of this fatal mistake, he was greatly disheartened, but the victory was not yet decided, and matters still stood almost as they were before the battle Had Brutus known that on the very day of Cassius' defeat, the republican fleet under the command of Statius Murcus and Cn Domitius Ahenobarbus in the Ionian sea had defeated and burnt the hostile fleet and destroyed two legions, he would, according to his original plan, have acted on the defensive, and by ordering his fleet to join him, he might have compelled the triumvirs to retreat But he knew nothing of this, and was obliged to yield to his soldiers, who demanded another battle This was fought about twenty days after the first The republican army showed the same valour and ardour as before, but they were nevertheless defeated and routed Brutus now lost all hopes, and put an end to the war by making away with himself As his servant refused to take away his life, he threw himself upon his own sword Thus fell the last of the republicans worthy of the name Many others, whose feelings did not permit them to survive the fall of the republic, followed his example, and others fled to Sex Pompeius, in Sicily The remainder of the army, which was commanded by Messala Corvinus, surrendered to the triumvirs Octavianus after this victory showed a cruel and unfeeling disposition in many instances, whereas Antony, whose better nature seems to have gained the upper hand on that occasion, displayed more generosity

than could have been anticipated There can be no doubt that this victory was mainly owing to the valour and boldness of Antony, though Octavianus afterwards claimed the principal merit for himself

After the battles of Philippi which were fought in the autumn of the year B C 42, Octavianus and Antony made a new division of the provinces in which Lepidus obtained Africa Antony now proceeded to his eastern provinces in Asia while Octavianus returned to Italy to satisfy his greedy and rapacious veterans by distributing among them the lands which he had promised to them and which he could get only by the most arbitrary proceedings and by violence Every one in Italy was seized with alarm lest Octavianus should repeat the horrors of the preceding year These apprehensions were secretly fostered and increased by Fulvia the wife of Antony, who contrived to spread abroad various reports about the intentions of Octavianus even before he arrived at Rome for he was detained for a time by illness at Brundusium. She made use in these intrigues of her husband's brother L Antonius Her only motive apparently, was to compel Antony to return to Italy for she was passionately fond of him and probably knew or apprehended that he would come under the influence of Cleopatra The distribution of lands among the veterans in Italy and the establishment of military colonies over all parts of the country with the disturbances which followed in their train prevented Octavianus from venturing to undertake any thing against Sex Pompeius The country people who were expelled from their homes by the rude soldiers flocked to Rome and bewailed in private as well as in public their undeserved misfortunes Their distress met with sympathy in the city, but it was in vain that Octavianus was applied to on every hand to prevent the outrages which were committed in all quarters The impudence and audacity of the veterans increased every day and Octavianus himself was obliged to endure their insolence he did not dare to punish the outrages they committed against their own officers In addition to all this

Rome was in great distress from scarcity, as the fleet of Sex Pompeius cut off the supplies of provisions from Sicily

This state of things offered a very favourable opportunity for Fulvia, and L Antonius, who was consul in B C 41, to come forward as the protectors of the suffering and the oppressed They created a commotion, the objects of which were to humble the rival of Antony, and to compel Antony himself to return to Italy Other persons, also, who had no such impure motives, but were actuated by a genuine feeling of humanity, joined them, or arose independently in other parts of the country L Antonius at first established himself at Praeneste, but afterwards went with Fulvia to Perusia in Etruria, where they were joined by numbers of Antony's veterans, fugitive country-people, and others Under these difficult circumstances Octavianus acted with great skill and prudence Towards the end of the year B C 41, he marched to Perusia, and blockaded the town with three armies The place soon began to suffer from a severe famine, and several attempts to break through the besieging armies failed L Antonius was at length obliged to capitulate Octavianus having granted him pardon, Antonius now acted as a traitor to his own party Fulvia was set free on condition of her quitting Italy The lives of the citizens of Perusia were spared, but all the senators were put to death, and from 300 to 400 noble Perusians were sent as captives to Rome, where they were butchered like cattle on the 15th of March, B C 40, at the altar of J Caesar The town of Perusia was plundered, and changed into a heap of ashes Thus ended an undertaking which had been begun by two unprincipled persons whose watchword was protection to the oppressed, but who by their conduct brought greater misery upon a harmless population than that which they pretended to remedy Fulvia went to Greece and when Antony, who spent his time in Egypt in sensual pleasures and the luxuries of the Alexandrian court, heard of the affair, he blamed the authors of it, though probably for no other reason than because the undertaking had failed Tib Claudius Nero,

the husband of Livia, (afterwards the wife of Octavianus) had been induced by a generous and humane feeling to come forward in Campania as the champion of those who were reduced to beggary by the veterans of Octavianus, but when the triumvir had conquered the party of Fulvia at Perusia, Tib Claudius Nero despairing of success fled to Sicily, where he joined Sext Pompeius and afterwards went to Antony

After the battles of Philippi, Antony went to Asia, where he levied enormous contributions, in order to enable himself to fulfil his promises towards his soldiers Asia suffered most severely, Brutus having also shortly before levied large sums The mad and senseless extravagance of Antony became manifest on his arrival at Ephesus, which city he entered in the disguise of Bacchus surrounded by Bacchantes, Satyrs, Fauns and the like, and where he indulged in the wildest and most senseless debaucheries On his arrival in Cilicia, he summoned Cleopatra queen of Egypt, to appear before him because she had in various ways supported Cassius She obeyed the call without hesitation, for she well knew that the voluptuous Roman would not be able to resist her charms She sailed up the river Cydnus to Tarsus in a vessel adorned in the most splendid manner and she herself appeared as Venus Her object was easily gained, and Antony was completely ensnared. After she had remained with him some time in Asia, Antony accompanied her to Alexandria, where he forgot every thing in dalliance with her He abandoned himself entirely to sensual pleasures and debaucheries, and lost the few remnants of goodness and virtue he yet possessed In B C 40 he was roused by the progress of the Parthians who were guided by the counsels of a faithless Roman, Labienus, formerly one of Caesar s generals and afterwards a supporter of Pompey The news that the Parthians had attacked Syria and the neighbouring countries induced Antony to go forth with an army, and undertake the war against them On his arrival in Phoenicia, he received the most pressing letters from his wife who desired him to hasten to her assistance in Italy Having

resolved to comply with her request, he entrusted his army to the brave P Ventidius, who fought successfully against Labienus and the Parthians and recovered Syria

When Antony arrived in Greece, Octavianus had already brought the Perusian war to a close At Athens Antony met his wife Fulvia, who soon after died at Sicyon, whereupon he continued his voyage to Italy, intending to land at Brundusium with a large fleet While sailing across the Ionian sea, he met with Cn Domitius Ahenobarbus, the republican admiral, who was carrying on piracy, and plundering the Italian coasts for the purpose of obtaining the necessary provisions for the legions he still had on board He now joined Antony, and sailed with him to Brundusium When he approached, Octavianus shut the gates of the city upon him, and Antony forthwith called on Sex Pompeius for assistance The latter without delay sent ships and cavalry to the coast of Italy, and Octavianus found himself attacked on all sides, for Sardinia also was in the hands of the Pompeian party As Fulvia, who had been the main cause of the war, was now dead, Octavianus was prevailed upon by his friends to endeavour to become reconciled to Antony, who had already commenced besieging Brundusium Maecenas, as the friend of Octavianus, with Asinius Pollio and L Cocceius on the part of Antony, brought about the desired reconciliation To gratify the two hostile armies, a general amnesty was proclaimed, and a treaty was concluded, according to which Antony was to have all the provinces east of the Adriatic as far as the river Euphrates and Octavianus all the western provinces, Africa alone being left to Lepidus Italy was to belong to the three triumvirs in common. It was further agreed that Sex Pompeius, whom Antony shamefully betrayed on that occasion, should be regarded as a common enemy, and that the war against the Parthians should be continued This new alliance between Octavianus and Antony, called the *foedus Brundusinum*, was cemented by the latter marrying the noble and virtuous Octavia a sister of Octavianus and widow of C Marcellus, whose happiness was thus sacrificed to the political purposes of the rulers

After this Antony remained for a time at Rome. Pompeius having resumed his piratical proceedings, harassed the coasts of Italy and by cutting off all supplies created so great a scarcity at Rome, that the populace compelled the triumvirs to enter into negotiations with him. In the neighbourhood of Cape Misenum not far from Puteoli the triumvirs met Pompeius in B. C. 39. He received them in his admiral's ship and afterwards landed and partook of an entertainment with them. Menodorus one of Pompeius's generals advised his master to put to death the triumvirs while they were on board his ship but Pompeius was too honest to enter into so treacherous a design. In the peace which was then concluded Pompeius obtained the proconsulship of Sicily, Sardinia, Corsica, and Achaia. After the conclusion of this peace Pompeius sailed back to Sicily, and Octavianus and Antony returned to Rome. Wherever these two appeared they were received by the people with enthusiastic joy and all saluted them as the deliverers of their country from famine and destruction. Soon after Antony went with Octavia to Athens where for a time he lived as a private person, and spent the ensuing winter in the enjoyment of all kinds of pleasure. In the beginning of B. C. 38 however he began making preparations for the Parthian war in which his lieutenants had, in the mean time, been very successful.

But the peace which had thus been established was not of very long duration. Pompeius had reason to complain of Antony, who did not withdraw his troops from Peloponnesus and Octavianus, on the other hand beginning to regret the concessions which had been made to Pompeius was anxious to obtain a pretext for renewing the war. This was soon found in the circumstance that Pompeius still allowed some of his vessels to carry on piracy in the Mediterranean. War was forthwith declared. Octavianus solicited the assistance of the two other triumvirs but neither of them at first supported him. they were probably glad to see him involved in a struggle in which he was likely to be defeated. The fleet of Octavianus suffered greatly from storms and the

watchful activity of Pompeius' admiral, Demochares, and no advantage was gained, though Menodorus went over to Octavianus and treacherously delivered up to him Corsica and Sardinia Antony, on being called upon a second time to assist his colleague, sailed in the beginning of B C 37, with a fleet of 300 ships, to Tarentum, but on his arrival, Octavianus, who had in the meantime changed his mind, declined the assistance Had it not been for the mediation of Octavia, the conduct of Octavianus would at once have produced a rupture between the two triumvirs, but she succeeded in inducing them to compromise the matter They became reconciled, and Octavianus promised to send 20,000 men as auxiliaries for Antony in the Parthian war, while Antony sent 120 ships to Tarentum It was further agreed that they should continue in their office of triumvirs for five years longer Hereupon Antony hastened to Syria, and Octavia remained in Italy with her brother The treacherous Menodorus now again went back to his former master with seven ships, without its being perceived by Calvisius, the admiral of Octavianus, who was deprived of his command in consequence Octavianus now appointed Agrippa supreme commander of the fleet, B C 36, and Sicily was attacked on all sides It was agreed that on the 1st of July Octavianus should sail from Puteoli, Lepidus from Africa, and Antony's fleet from Tarentum, but on the third a storm arose which compelled the fleets to return, and Lepidus alone succeeded in landing at Lilybaeum Pompeius had all along shown great carelessness and he continued in his inactivity even now, amusing himself with offering sacrifices to Neptune, whose son he pretended to be Menodorus again went over to Octavianus, and in a sea fight which took place off Mylae against Agrippa, Pompeius lost thirty ships and was unable to prevent Octavianus from landing at Tauromenium But the land army of the latter was hard pressed by the enemy One rainy night, late in the autumn, when Octavianus had lost his road, and was bivouacking at night with his men, a thundering noise was heard from the neighbouring Aetna, and the rising

flames illumined all the country around. This phenomenon spread consternation among all who witnessed it. After many petty skirmishes, Agrippa at length engaged in a decisive battle, in which he made a very successful use of the Greek boarding engines. Pompeius was completely defeated, and on receiving intelligence that his land forces had surrendered he fled with seventeen ships from Messana to Asia. Lepidus had exerted himself very little in this struggle, but after the departure of Pompeius he claimed the island of Sicily for himself. Octavianus, exasperated at such presumption, and knowing that Lepidus would not meet with much support anywhere, not even among his own soldiers, boldly entered his camp at once, and without much difficulty persuaded the soldiers to surrender, by promising them great rewards. Lepidus, who had no strength or energy of character, put on the attire of a private person, and went to Octavianus, who sent him to Rome, where he continued in his office of pontifex maximus until his death, which took place in B.C. 12.

Octavianus did not pursue Pompeius, but he was detained in Sicily by the clamour of his soldiers, who demanded on the spot the rewards which had been promised them. When their desires were satisfied he returned to Rome, where he celebrated a triumph on the 13th of November, B.C. 36. As the city was now plentifully provided with supplies, his victory was hailed by all parties. The people were delighted at his success, and the senate conferred various distinctions on him which he declined with affected modesty.

Pompeius, on his arrival in Asia, was hospitably received by Antony's legate, Furnius, but he soon lost the confidence of his host, and matters came to a rupture. Antony had at first been uncertain what to do with Pompeius, but when he heard of the breach between him and Furnius, he sent his general, Titius, with a fleet of 120 ships against him. Pompeius took to flight, but was overtaken by his pursuers, and being abandoned by his troops, he was obliged to surrender at discretion. He was put

to death at Miletus in B C 35, either by the command of Antony or that of one of his generals who hazarded the deed on his own responsibility in order to prevent Pompeius becoming the cause of a rupture between Octavianus and Antony By the overthrow of Pompeius, and the removal of Lepidus Octavianus had acquired sufficient strength to venture upon a contest with his last rival as soon as he might think proper and it was not long before a fair opportunity presented itself

CHAPTER XXXVIII

ANTONY'S WAR AGAINST THE PARTHIANS AND ARMENIANS.—WARS OF OCTAVIANUS IN PANNONIA AND DALMATIA.—STRUGGLE BETWEEN OCTAVIANUS AND ANTONY.—BATTLE OF ACTIUM

The triumvirate had now become a duumvirate, and while Octavianus had strengthened his power by the accession of the army of Lepidus and his province of Africa, Antony, in B C 36, undertook his long contemplated campaign against the Parthians He had sixteen legions and was allied with Artavasdes, king of Armenia He advanced as far as Media, and took several important towns, but his plan of operations was ill-devised for he left several legions behind, and the Parthian king Phraates who attacked them, not only got possession of all their provisions and ammunition, but completely annihilated the legions themselves Thus and various other unfavourable circumstances compelled Antony to retreat and it was not without the greatest difficulty that he reached Armenia His fate very nearly became the same as that of Crassus for one fourth of his army was destroyed and the greater part of his baggage was lost He returned to Alexandria, where he completely abandoned himself to sensual pleasures with his mistress Cleopatra to whom he gave Coele-Syria Judaea, and Cyprus His conduct henceforth was of the most contemptible kind, and Cleopatra was his evil genius The losses he had sustained against the Parthians were however not forgotten, they filled him with shame, and as Artavasdes had drawn upon himself the suspicion of treachery, Antony in B C 34 invaded Armenia, and made Artavasdes his prisoner Having given the conquered country to Cleopatra,

Antony, on his return to Alexandria, celebrated a splendid triumph, to the great annoyance of all those Romans who felt for the honour of their country This irregular and unconstitutional conduct, the arbitrary manner in which he gave kingdoms to his concubine, and the flagrant way in which he abandoned himself to all the licentiousness of an eastern court were in the highest degree offensive to the Romans Until now, the noble Octavia though she had been treated by her husband in the most unworthy manner, had contrived to preserve peace between him and Octavianus, but things came to a crisis just at the time when he invaded Armenia Octavia had gone to Greece with reinforcements money, and clothing for his army but he sent her a letter requesting her not to follow him, and soon after openly divorced her This act which seems to have been brought about by the cunning contrivances of Octavianus himself, rent asunder the tie which had hitherto kept the triumvirs together Octavianus had not neglected to direct the attention of the Roman people to the conduct and follies of Antony at Alexandria and the people of Rome now looked upon Octavianus and his sister as the injured and insulted party but when the critical moment came Octavianus was still prudent enough not to declare war against Antony himself whom he represented only as the infatuated slave of Cleopatra but against the queen of Egypt His cause had thus a better appearance as his arms were ostensibly directed against those who had led Antony to act in this insulting and provoking manner

During the time that Antony was engaged in the east and revelling in the luxuries of his Alexandrian court Octavianus made some useful attempts to remedy the confusion and demoralisation of the people of Italy and he pretended to wait only for the return of his colleague from the east to retire into private life as after the restoration of peace the republic did not require his services any longer This affectation of true republican sentiments gained its end for Octavianus was elected pontifex maximus although Lepidus who was invested with that office

was yet alive it was also decreed that he should inhabit a public mansion, that his person should be inviolable, and that in the senate he should sit by the side of the tribunes In order to appear not to harbour any hostile feelings towards Antony, he always spoke of him in a kind and benevolent manner, so that if any rupture should occur, no one would ascribe the fault to Octavianus. With a view of obtaining the means of satisfying his troops, who were still clamorous for their rewards, he resolved to wage war against some tribes in the north-east of the Adriatic, of which country the Romans had never yet become complete masters. When Octavianus reached the country of the Japydes, he met with a strong resistance, but by perseverance he obliged their capital, Metulum, to surrender, in B C 35 He then advanced into Pannonia, the capital of which Segesta, after a siege of thirty days, sued for peace. Octavianus left his legate Fufius Geminus behind with a garrison to keep the conquered nations in submission, and returned to Rome Octavia being about this time repudiated by Antony, Octavianus neglected nothing that was calculated to bring prominently before the people the insult which had been offered to his family He had formed the plan of invading Britain, but was prevented by the intelligence that the countries he had just subdued had revolted His generals, indeed, succeeded in restoring peace, but Octavianus himself proceeded to Dalmatia, where Agrippa had the command. Several towns were taken and neither life nor property was spared Octavianus penetrated as far as Setovia, where he received a wound in his knee After his recovery he left the command to Statilius Taurus and returned to Rome to enter his second consulship, for B C 33 Taurus, in the meantime, completed the subjugation of the Dalmatians and out of the spoils Octavianus ordered a portico to be built, which he called Octavia, in honour to his sister

During the years B C. 33 and 32 Octavianus remained at Rome and had plenty of opportunities of pointing out to the people the unworthy and despicable conduct of Antony and of

convincing them that they had everything to fear from him and that all the exertions they might be required to make, would be solely for their own good War was at last declared in the end of B C 32 and in the year following, when Octavianus was invested with his third consulship Rome was in a state of great excitement and alarm all classes being called upon to make the most extraordinary exertions In the spring of B C 31, the fleet of Octavianus under the able command of Agrippa spread over the whole of the Adriatic, while Octavianus himself and his legions landed in Epirus He had had to struggle with many difficulties in Italy in making the people submit to the heavy demands he made upon them and if Antony had availed himself of these circumstances and had attacked his enemy in Italy the war might have terminated in a very different way But Antony was slow and his adversary gained time to overcome his difficulties Antony assembled his fleet at Ephesus and accompanied by the ambitious Cleopatra sailed from Asia to Samos and Athens thence he proceeded to Corcyra where all his forces were assembled His land army encamped near Actium a promontory of Acarnania while Agrippa at the entrance of the Ambracian gulf took possession of the town of Toryne and then made some successful excursions upon the Greek coast

During these operations the summer passed away Antony's friends advised him to decide the war by a land fight for though he had twice as many ships as Octavianus yet they were very large and awkward and not adapted successfully to operate against the light and swift boats of the enemy But Cleopatra desired Antony to bring the war to a close by an engagement at sea and her will was obeyed The memorable battle of Actium on the 2nd of September B C 31 decided the fate of the Roman world at once and for ever Its issue was at first doubtful but when Cleopatra perceived that victory was not certain on her side she took to flight and sixty Egyptian ships followed her As soon as Antony became aware of this he hastened after her in a quick sailing boat either from despair or with the intention

refused entering into any negotiations and demanded unconditional surrender In the spring of B C 30, he appeared before Pelusium, which admitted the invader without resistance His army under the command of Aelius Gallus also took possession of Paraetonium, so that he could attack Alexandria both from the east and the west The Egyptian fleet surrendered without a blow, and the cavalry also passed over to Octavianus Antony now withdrew into the city of Alexandria and finding himself abandoned by all, and being falsely informed of the death of Cleopatra resolved to die He perished miserably, by throwing himself upon his own sword The queen concealed herself with all her treasures in her palace still hoping to win the conqueror by her charms, but when she discovered that he would spare her life only that she might adorn his triumph she made away with herself by putting a viper to her breast

Octavianus was now sole master of a colossal empire As the final victory had been gained on the second of Sextilis the name of that month was afterwards changed into Augustus (August) and festivals were instituted to commemorate the auspicious event every year at the beginning of August The race of the Ptolemies had now become extinct, and Egypt received the constitution of a Roman province which however, was governed in a peculiar manner and enjoyed several privileges, as it was the principal country from which Italy received its supplies of corn The governor bore the title of Praefectus Augustalis and was always a person of equestrian rank The first who was intrusted with its administration was the poet Aelius Gallus, who had distinguished himself in the war against Sext Pompeius and in the taking of the important town of Paraetonium

After having regulated the affairs of this wealthy and populous new province Octavianus returned to Samos and from thence he proceeded in the spring of B C 29, to Rome where the temple of Janus was closed as a sign that peace was restored throughout the empire Octavianus celebrated a threefold triumph over

Pannonia and Dalmatia, Antony and Egypt, and the people were highly pleased with the rejoicings that were prepared for them The veterans also received ample rewards for their services, and whole legions obtained settlements on the frontiers of the empire Octavianus himself was honoured by the senate with various distinctions and privileges, and received the title of *imperator* for life The history of the Roman republic was now come to its final close, its fall was the unavoidable consequence of its internal decay and corruption, which, within the last century, had spread with immense rapidity over all parts of the social and political machinery, and destroyed all the vital principles upon which alone a republic can stand with safety In the history of Rome the attentive observer cannot help being impressed with the truth, that the fate of a nation mainly depends upon the moral condition of its people; and that the descendants have often to pay a heavy penalty for the neglect or transgres

CHAPTER XXXIX

EXTENT OF THE ROMAN EMPIRE, ITS CONSTITUTION AND ADMINISTRATION —THE LANGUAGE, LITERATURE, AND ARTS DURING THE LATTER PERIOD OF THE REPUBLIC—CHARACTER AND MORALS OF THE PEOPLE DURING THE SAME PERIOD

Before we proceed to describe the gradual establishment of the monarchy under Octavianus, let us cast a glance at the extent of the empire, its constitution and administration, at the state of literature and the arts, as well as at the condition of the people during the last century of the republic. Rome, at this time, was the mistress of a colossal empire, and all the countries over which she exercised her sway, with the exception of Italy, were constituted as dependencies or provinces. She ruled over all the islands of the Mediterranean, over Egypt, Cyrene, Africa (the territory of ancient Carthage), Numidia, Mauritania, Spain, with the exception of the northern districts of that peninsula, all Gaul as far as the Rhine, Illyricum, Pannonia, Dalmatia, Moesia, Macedonia, Thrace, all Greece, and almost the whole of the immense extent of country in Asia between Mount Caucasus, the Caspian Sea, the Parthian empire, the Persian and Arabian Gulfs, and on the west the Mediterranean. In some of these countries the Roman dominion was, indeed, not yet firmly established; but the time was not far distant when they were to lose even the last shadow of independence. But Rome's ambition was not satisfied with this, for the nations bordering upon her empire, such as the Britons, Germans, Parthians, were not left in peace, and one after another was compelled, in the course of time, to acknowledge the supremacy of Rome.

The constitution of the republic had received its first great

shock in the noble attempt made by the Gracchi to remedy the evils which had been brought about by the usurpation of the rich and by certain unavoidable circumstances The senate and the optimates at that time gained the victory, but their blood stained power was not to be of long duration, for they acted with a perfect contempt of all law and justice, and the citizens felt their oppressive rule no less than the allies and the provinces Their influence was crushed by ambitious demagogues who started up one after another in the civil wars Sulla again, after his victory over the popular party, formed the childish plan of restoring the good old times, by undoing the work of time, and by reviving the ancient forms of the constitution, but his system was a body without a soul for the senate had long ceased to be that venerable assembly which once filled those who witnessed its meetings with awe and reverence Its power, which had been abused in the most flagrant manner, was broken by the influence of the equites, a class of men who continued to rise in importance from the time of the Gracchi. This class not only acquired judicial power, which they abused as grossly as the senators had done before, but being wealthy capitalists and engaged in the farming of the public revenues, they had it in their power to support any ambitious demagogue, and thus to keep the senate in a sort of dependence The consequence was that titles and honours were the only distinctions of the senate, while all the substantial power was in the hands of the equites, and so high did the latter rise in public estimation, that in B C 67, the tribune, L. Roscius Otho carried a law by which the fourteen rows of seats in the theatres, immediately in front of the orchestra, were assigned to the equites exclusively [1] But the insolence of the equites on the one hand, and the system of bribery by which the other powers in the republic were kept in subjection was as detrimental to the state as it was disgraceful to themselves The senate was

[1] Ascon. in *Cornel* p. 78, ed. Orelli Liv *Epit.* 99 Vell. Pat. ii. 32. Hence *sedere in quatuordecim* is equivalent to *esse equitem*. The same privilege was granted to tribunes of the soldiers, as they also were regarded as persons of equestrian rank (Horat. *Epod.* iv 15 &c)

further degraded by persons of the lowest classes having received from their demagogic leaders seats in it with the right of voting Such senators were little better than common hirelings, the question of the good of the state never entered their minds and they rejected or adopted measures as they were bid by their patrons or only with a view to the greater pecuniary advantages which they themselves might derive from them The consulship was likewise degraded by being given to persons who were ready to do whatever the leaders of their party desired The degradation of this magistracy however began more particularly in the time of Caesar[3] Where in former times all had been active and zealous to promote the public good every one was now bent upon personal aggrandisement without any regard to the commonwealth

The fearful anarchy into which Rome was plunged after the time of Sulla showed itself more particularly in the assemblies of the people for there the place of the free born Roman citizens was occupied by an idle and hungry populace which had no desire for anything higher than bread and amusements and was ever ready to attach itself to those who had the richest rewards to offer At the elections of magistrates bribery was carried on in the most open and unscrupulous manner and the dregs of the city, which fed upon bribery decided upon the most important affairs of the state such as the election of magistrates the enactment of laws and upon peace and war The comitia often were of the most riotous and tumultuous kind for the hostile factions not unfrequently attacked each other with arms and the forum was the scene of civil bloodshed bands of armed slaves and gladiators occupying it and deciding by the dagger or the sword what ought to have been settled by free and rational discussion The tribunes who had been the representatives of the people and the guardians of their rights ever since the time of the Gracchi either themselves came forward as the leaders of factions or sold themselves as supporters to those who chose to buy them by bribes

[3] Sueton. *Caes.* 76

The administration of the provinces, and of justice, kept pace in point of corruption with the political and moral degeneracy of the people. The general immorality and licentiousness of the age rendered a change in the administration of justice necessary. As early as the year B.C. 149, the tribune L. Calpurnius Piso carried a measure by which the Roman people transferred their judicial power, for certain classes of crimes, to commissioners, who were appointed annually, and who, under the presidency of the praetor, tried the accused, and inflicted punishment on the guilty in the name of the Roman people.[3] But as the praetors, like other magistrates, were guided in their edicts rather by their own interest and a love of money than by a proper sense of justice, the tribune C. Cornelius, in B.C. 67, carried a law by which the praetors were obliged to pronounce sentence according to the edicts or principles of law which they had once established;[4] for on entering upon his office, every praetor had to announce or lay down such an edictum; from which time such edicts acquired permanent authority in all legal matters, and were commented upon and explained by the most distinguished jurists.

Although Roman citizens had not to pay any taxes to the republic, and though the amount of domain land was constantly diminishing by the establishment of colonies and by its distribution among the veterans, still the wealth of the republic, during the latter period of its existence, was immense, for enormous sums flowed from the provinces into the public treasury. The province of Asia, in the time of Sulla, paid annually about one million sterling, which subsequently was increased even to upwards of two millions; and one Spanish mine yielded an annual produce of upwards of half a million: from these facts we may form some estimate of the revenue derived from such rich

[3] These are the *quaestiones perpetuae*, or standing criminal courts for certain crimes, such as high treason, embezzlement of public money, bribery, and others which were subsequently added by Sulla, Pompey, and Caesar.

[4] Ascon. in *Cornel.* p. 53, ed. Orelli, Dion Cass. xxxvi. 23

provinces as Gaul, Syria, Macedonia, Sicily, Africa, and others The regular tribute, paid by the provinces, was let out in farm by the censors to the highest bidder the persons who undertook the farming, whether they were individuals or companies (*societates*), first paid or gave security to the treasury for the sums stipulated, and then sent their agents (*publicani*) into the provinces to collect the taxes, under the protection, and if necessary with the assistance of the military forces stationed in the provinces These publicani became proverbial in the provinces for their avarice, cruelty, and oppression, for their object, as well as that of their employers, was to make as large a profit out of the country as possible, and they called in without mercy the assistance of the soldiery wherever the exhausted provincials could not, or would not, comply with their exorbitant demands The wealth of the subject countries in Asia, Africa, and Europe, was thus systematically collected and carried to Rome, where it enriched the public treasury no less than the farmers of the revenue But notwithstanding all this, the republic never possessed a regular and rightly organised system of finance which might have created a permanent and inexhaustible treasure The greater part of these revenues was spent upon the maintenance of the poor the fleets, the armies, the officials employed in the provinces the donations which were given to the populace in the shape of corn, meat, and public amusements, and the rewards given to the veterans The wars of the triumvirs in the end so much drained the treasury, that Octavianus found it necessary to impose a heavy war tax to replenish it, every freedman, possessing a certain amount of property being obliged to give up to the state one eighth of it [5]

During the latter years of the republic, little or no care seems to have been taken about keeping peace and order in the city the regulations made with a view to preserve public safety and decency were violated every day without fear or scruple, and crimes of every description were committed in public and in broad

[5] Dion Cass I 10

daylight with such audacity as if there had been no laws at all to check them Regular guards to preserve peace and order in the city during the night never existed until Octavianus instituted the *nocturnorum vigilum cohortes* The censorship still existed, but after the Social war, when all the Italians acquired the Roman citizenship it became utterly impossible for the censors to control the conduct of the people hence murder, poisoning forged wills, robbery, perjury, and the like became crimes of every day occurrence The superintendence of the public granaries of the corn market and of the distribution of grain among the people was in the hands of the two *aediles cerealis* who had been instituted by J Caesar, in B C 45[a] The functions of a city police still continued to be performed though in an inefficient manner, by the four other aediles

In the composition of the Roman armies two considerable changes had taken place C Marius set the first example of enlisting persons of the lowest classes, and even slaves and freedmen By this means the wealthier classes were afterwards enabled to remain at Rome, and to indulge in the pleasures and amusements of the city, while the battles of the republic were fought by the greedy populace, who had no other object in view than to acquire the means of revelling in luxuries and debaucheries Warlike virtue and patriotism had disappeared more and more ever since the beginning of the civil wars the soldiers, in the rich provinces in which they were often stationed for a number of years became demoralized and effeminate and it required the most extraordinary efforts and tact to keep them in military subordination Their love of money and plunder naturally led them to serve him who most connived at their excesses and when a mutiny broke out among them, the commander had generally to yield, unless he was a man of the very greatest skill and ability he often succeeded in appeasing them by promising them rich rewards after the close of the campaign, but how great in many cases those reward which usually consisted in the assignment

[a] Dion. Cass. xliii. 51

and distribution of lands, inflicted upon the peaceful inhabitants of the country in which the soldiers received settlements or were established as military colonies, has already been remarked [7] In short, the soldiers towards the end of the republic, already showed very strong symptoms of that imperious and profligate character which they afterwards displayed under the emperors when they disposed of the imperial throne according to their own discretion and desire The art of war received great improvements at the hands of such men as C Marius, L Sulla, Cn Pompey, and, above all, J Caesar The armies in the time of Caesar no longer consisted of Romans and allies (*socii*) we read only of Romans and auxiliaries the latter of whom were armed according to the customs of the countries from which they were drawn

The provinces were governed as before by praetors and pro consuls and it was these dependencies especially when favoured by nature, which were most exposed to robbery plunder, and extortion by the Roman governors and their soldiery It is attested by Cicero, that the arrival of a governor even in a peaceful province, was little different from the entrance of a victorious army into the country of a vanquished enemy Even men who were of good repute for their humanity after they had been in a province for some years returned to Rome with almost incredible sums of money What the governors left undone, was completed by usurers and the farmers of the public revenue, and Asia which was repeatedly drained to the utmost would have been utterly ruined, had it not been a country endowed by nature with almost inexhaustible resources Verres is a fair specimen of what most governors of provinces were during the latter period of the republic The provincials had indeed the right to prosecute their oppressors, but the judges were either the accomplices of the culprits, or had an interest in keeping things as they were even the most barefaced robbers on a large scale found orators and lawyers who were ready to defend them and judges who had no scruple in acquitting them Everything had thus come to a

[7] See p. 524 &c

crisis, and no earthly power could have prevented the republic from either breaking to pieces or falling into the hands of a single ruler

Agriculture, once the pride and glory of the Romans, had become completely neglected in Italy, and the immense estates (*latifundia*) possessed by the wealthy Romans were used for the most part as pastures, on which large flocks were kept by gangs of slaves, while in other parts the late wars had reduced whole districts to barren wildernesses The consequence was that Italy, one of the most fertile countries in Europe, which might have supported the most numerous population, was dependent for its supplies of corn upon Sicily, the territory of ancient Carthage, Sardinia, and Egypt The final blow to Italian agriculture seems to have been given by the establishment of the military colonies, whereby many farms were taken from the industrious peasants and given to reckless soldiers, who had neither the industry nor inclination, nor the knowledge, requisite for agricultural pursuits Rome's dependence upon other countries for its supplies of food frequently produced great distress in the city, especially at the time when the Mediterranean was infested by the pirates, and afterwards when Sex. Pompeius exercised his sway over the seas That hazard at sea was also detrimental to commerce in general, though the Romans themselves were never very active as merchants They received their articles of luxury chiefly from Marseilles, Alexandria in Egypt, and the ports of Syria, in which ports the Egyptian and Syrian merchants, who fetched their merchandise from India, Persia, and Arabia, disposed of it to the Romans But Roman merchants also kept vessels of their own with which they visited foreign markets, where they purchased gold, slaves, corn, and other commodities, and many of them carried on a considerable commerce with Gaul, which they visited either by sea or by the roads leading across the Alps

The Latin language was at this time understood, if not spoken, in all parts of Italy, in the south of Gaul, in a great part of Spain, and in the western islands of the Mediterranean, in all which

countries Latin was ultimately to become the language of the people In the provinces east of the Adriatic, on the other hand, no attempt was ever made to supplant the language spoken by the provincials A perfect Romanisation, therefore, took place only in the northern and western parts of the empire, that is, in countries whose civilisation, at the time of their conquest, was below that of the Romans There cannot, however, be any doubt that in all the Roman provinces, even where the Latin language was not introduced, persons of rank and education acquired a competent knowledge of it through the influence of the Roman armies, officers, adventurers, and other Italians who settled among the provincials In Italy, again, there were few persons of any pretensions who were not thoroughly acquainted with the Greek language Rome itself swarmed with learned Greeks, who gave instruction in their native tongue, in rhetoric and philosophy, and those Romans who had sufficient means used to send their sons to the high places of learning in Greece, where they cultivated their minds and taste under the guidance of the ablest teachers This intellectual connection with Greece excited in the minds of the Romans the greatest zeal and ambition to emulate the Greeks in carrying to perfection their own language poets historians, and, above all, the orators exerted themselves to elevate the language and literature of their country to a point where they might be worthy rivals of those of Greece The influence of this intellectual activity was however more or less confined to Rome and the larger towns, the language spoken in the country districts and distant parts of Italy, (*lingua rustica*, or *rusticitas*) showed a marked difference from the language spoken at Rome (*urbanitas*), where the taste of the better classes was daily cultivated by the public orators and the society of those who had received a liberal and perfect education

The golden age of Roman literature extends from the death of Sulla to that of Augustus it was during that period of about ninety years that Rome produced her greatest minds in every branch of literature, in poetry as well as in prose Books had been

collected by Roman nobles long before this time, such as Aemilius Paulus, who brought many books with him from Macedonia, and libraries existed in most of the palaces and villas of the great but the first public library was established at Rome by Asinius Pollio (born in B C 74, died in A D 4), who was himself distinguished as a poet and orator,[1] and his example was followed by Caesar and Octavianus[2] The demand for books produced booksellers, who exposed their books for sale on stalls, and caused copies to be made of the works they had on sale, but wealthy authors used to keep slaves for the sole purpose of making copies of their works, which they sent to their friends Such slaves were called *literati*, or *librarii*

But whatever were the efforts of the Romans, their literature, from the days of Livius Andronicus, had been and remained, on the whole, merely an imitation of that of Greece, and the Greeks, who had been subdued by the arms of Rome, gained and maintained the ascendancy over their conquerors by the spirit of their arts and their literature The flourishing period, moreover of Roman literature, was of short duration, as is always the case when a literature is not built upon a truly national basis such an artificial creation may at first grow luxuriantly in its new soil like a plant in a hothouse, but afterwards it becomes either crippled or shortlived The latter was the case with Roman literature, whose fair growth was checked by the vices and follies no less than by the misfortunes of the times which followed the reign of Augustus, for literature, in all countries seems to thrive best in times of great excitement, whether it arises from political or religious commotions or from great military undertakings

The regular and sublime tragedy after the Greek model never became popular among the Romans who cannot boast of one great tragic poet Men like Roscius and Aesopus in the age of Cicero might, for a time, fascinate the people with their wonderful powers as actors in comedy and tragedy, and wealthy Romans might spend the most exorbitant sums upon the erection of

[1] Plin. *H N* vii. 31 [2] Suet. *Cas.* 41 *Aug* 29

theatres in order to win popular favour,[19] but the national taste was against the lofty and sublime spirit of the Greek drama the dissolute jokes and witticisms of pantomimic representations, and the cruelties of the gladiatorial fights in the circus had far more charms for the population of Rome The authors of mimes, therefore were the only dramatic composers that met with any favour of whom in the time of J Caesar we find two who acquired a great reputation Decimus Laberius and P Syrus P Lucretius Carus who died in B C 52 at the age of forty four, was a truly great poet, he wrote a great didactic poem in six books, on the Nature of Things which is still extant, it is only to be regretted that he employed his muse in the advocacy of the miserable system of the Epicurean philosophy Lyric poetry was cultivated with great success, and though the poets were to a great extent, mere imitators of the lyric poets of Greece, yet their productions were in no wise unworthy of their models We here need mention only the names of the heroes of lyric poetry whose works have come down to us C Valerius Catullus of Verona (born in B C 85 died about B C 45) Horace of Venusia, (born in B C 63, died B C 8) Tibullus and Propertius In epic, idyllic and didactic poetry none surpassed Virgil (born in B C 70, at Andes near Mantua died in B C 19) and Ovid of Sulmo (born in B C 43 died in A D 17) Political oratory which had naturally been cultivated at Rome from early times, but had commenced a period of rapid development in the age of the Gracchi reached its highest perfection under the influence of such men as Q Hortensius Cicero J Caesar, Cato and others but its flourishing period terminated abruptly with the fall of the republic for public oratory is the child of political liberty and cannot exist without it Even Cicero in the later years of his life complained of the decline of the art in which he himself had outshone all his contemporaries In the year B C 99,

[19] In B.C 58 M Aemilius Scaurus built a most magnificent wooden theatre which contained 80 000 spectators (Plin. *H N* xxxvi. 24 .7), but it did not remain standing more than one month The first stone theatre was that of Cn Pompey which was dedicated in B.C 55 —See p. 404

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[8] Plin. *H N* xxxv 2

[9] Sueton. *Oct.* 44 *Aug* 29

theatres in order to win popular favour,[10] but the national taste was against the lofty and sublime spirit of the Greek drama the dissolute jokes and witticisms of pantomimic representations, and the cruelties of the gladiatorial fights in the circus, had far more charms for the population of Rome The authors of mimes, therefore, were the only dramatic composers that met with any favour, of whom in the time of J Caesar we find two who acquired a great reputation, Decimus Laberius and P Syrus P Lucretius Carus, who died in B C 52, at the age of forty four, was a truly great poet, he wrote a great didactic poem, in six books, on the Nature of Things, which is still extant, it is only to be regretted that he employed his muse in the advocacy of the miserable system of the Epicurean philosophy Lyric poetry was cultivated with great success, and though the poets were, to a great extent, mere imitators of the lyric poets of Greece, yet their productions were in no wise unworthy of their models We here need mention only the names of the heroes of lyric poetry whose works have come down to us C Valerius Catullus, of Verona, (born in B C 85, died about B C 45), Horace, of Venusia, (born in B C 63, died B C 8), Tibullus, and Propertius In epic, idyllic, and didactic poetry, none surpassed Virgil (born in B C 70, at Andes, near Mantua, died in B C 19), and Ovid, of Sulmo (born in B C 43, died in A D 17) Political oratory, which had naturally been cultivated at Rome from early times, but had commenced a period of rapid development in the age of the Gracchi, reached its highest perfection under the influence of such men as Q Hortensius, Cicero, J Caesar, Cato, and others, but its flourishing period terminated abruptly with the fall of the republic, for public oratory is the child of political liberty, and cannot exist without it Even Cicero, in the later years of his life, complained of the decline of the art in which he himself had outshone all his contemporaries In the year B C 99,

[10] In B C 58, M Aemilius Scaurus built a most magnificent wooden theatre which contained 80 000 spectators (Plin. *H N* xxxvi 24 17), but it did not remain standing more than one month The first stone theatre was that of Cn Pompey which was dedicated in B C 55 —See p 484

L Plotius had opened the first school for teaching Latin oratory, and had met with great applause, but two years later, the censors expressed their strong disapproval of it, for they declared this school of Latin rhetoricians to be injurious to the young, and contrary to the customs of their forefathers [11] Speculative philosophy had never been a favourite pursuit among the Romans, and it is amusing to see how Cicero, who was the first to attempt to make his countrymen acquainted with the results of Greek speculation, apologises for venturing to introduce these abstruse disquisitions among his countrymen, though his lucubrations were by no means of a transcendental kind, but had in view those more practical ends which have a direct bearing upon the affairs of the state and human life in general We may, indeed, admit that Cicero was not a philosopher, in the highest sense of the word, but he has the undisputed merit of having popularised among the Romans, and in their own language, the results of the practical parts of Greek philosophy The higher classes had adopted a sort of Epicurean system, because it did not oppose their luxurious and licentious mode of life, while the better and nobler minds sought and found comfort in the purer and loftier doctrines of the Stoics, which, at the same time, were a kind of compensation for the religious wants of the age, the religion of ancient Rome having become a subject of ridicule with the more enlightened class of Romans

M Terentius Varro, a contemporary of Cicero, was a man of most extensive information, but the greater part of his numerous and valuable works have perished Historical studies were pursued with great vigour, and the historians of this period rose far above those of former times We still possess some most excellent historical works which were written at that time, such as a few of the Lives of Cornelius Nepos, the History of the Jugurthine war and the Catilinarian conspiracy by Sallust, the Commentaries of J Caesar and A. Hirtius, and a considerable portion of the voluminous History of Rome, by Livy Each of these

[11] Gellius, xv 11

historians has his peculiar charms and beauties each of them looked at history from a different point of view, and wrote accordingly in a different spirit The works of many others, such as Q Claudius Quadrigarius, Valerius of Antium Licinius Macer, T Pomponius Atticus, Q Aelius Tubero, Asinius Pollio, Varro, Cato, L Lucceius, the Memoirs of Sulla, and the Commentaries of the philosopher P Volumnius who wrote the history of the war against Brutus have been lost in the course of time, and are known only through the quotations of others

Although Rome herself never produced any great artists, yet there arose in Italy such a love of works of art, especially after the war of Sulla against Mithridates, that it almost amounted to a mania among the wealthy Romans, and in many instances, led to the most disgraceful robberies for the governors of provinces, in the most unscrupulous manner appropriated to themselves the ornaments of temples and public buildings no less than those of private houses We need only remember the conduct of Verres in Sicily, who was assuredly not the only man who acted in that rapacious manner, to form an opinion of the extent to which the robbery of works of art was carried But not only were statues, paintings vases, and other moveable articles of ornament taken and carried to Italy means were devised even for cutting away mural paintings and removing them nor were these works of art used to adorn only the public places and buildings of the city many more were carried to the private dwellings of the great and to their villas in the country, which were lavishly stocked with these plundered treasures In those villas they were generally kept hidden from public view, for the exclusive enjoyment of the wealthy, and this practice was carried to such an extent, that, on one occasion Agrippa delivered a speech, in which he proposed publicly to sell all the statues and paintings which were hidden in the villas of the great[1] This love of works of art also created a considerable traffic in them at Rome, and picture dealers and statue-dealers

[1] Plin xxxv 9

were persons of some consequence among the Roman amateurs [13] Eminent artists, moreover, went to Rome in great numbers, though not so much with a view to get orders for new and original creations, as to make copies of the most renowned works of the earlier Greek masters

But the ennobling influence of literature and the arts produced very little effect upon the moral and social condition of the majority of the Romans wealth, and the love of luxuries and sensual pleasures, were opponents too powerful to be subdued by such gentle means, and the course of demoralisation could not be checked either by the censorship or by legal enactments The licentiousness of the populace, the avarice of the great, the general effeminacy, combined with the most heartless cruelty, reached an almost incredible height The Roman nobles erected palaces and villas, with which even our royal palaces, in point of grandeur and magnificence, can scarcely bear any comparison mountains were levelled, lakes were dug, and portions of the sea changed into dry land, merely to gratify the whims and fancies of the wealthy, and the anecdotes of the extravagance of some surpass almost all belief The furniture and ornaments of their dwellings consisted of the finest metals, and of the most costly species of wood, yet these materials were themselves of little value in comparison with the labour and skill that were lavished upon the workmanship At their repasts the most exquisite dishes were brought together from all parts of the world, and, in order not to be restrained in their extravagant enjoyment of them, they had recourse to the disgusting practice of taking emetics, both before and after their debauches The licentiousness and immorality among women was almost greater than among men, and the natural consequence was, that men preferred living in concubinage to entering the state of legal matrimony Thus the number of free citizens constantly decreased, while that of freedmen increased with extraordinary rapidity This state of things, which lasted till about the reign of Vespasian, became

[13] Cic. *ad Fam.* vii. 23, Horat. *Sat* ii. 3, 61

so general, that it was found necessary to make enactments against celibacy, and to confer rights and privileges upon those who were fathers of a certain number of children born in legal wedlock Thus corrupt state of domestic life naturally exercised its influence upon the education of the young they were neglected by their parents, and left to the care of Greek slaves (*paedagogi* or *custodes*), who taught them the Greek language, and Greek manners, their mother tongue being little cared for The whole of the education of children went in the wrong direction, for the national feelings of the Romans were thus, in early life, moulded into a corrupt foreign form The better classes, of course, formed the exception, causing their children to be instructed in history, poetry, rhetoric, and philoso phy, and what could not be acquired at home was afterwards sought in the great schools which were established in various parts of the eastern world

The spirit of ancient Rome had thus completely disappeared from all the relations of life, the moral strength of the people was broken, the freedom of their fathers was gone Rome had become unable to govern herself, and wanted the powerful hand of an absolute ruler like an exhausted mother she had lost the power of producing truly great and good men She was incapable of enjoying political freedom, which prospers only when it is supported by the manly virtues and the moral character of a nation Thousands must have looked with disgust upon the perpetual struggles which had of late torn the republic to pieces, and must have felt that a tranquil enjoyment of life, which was with many the highest object of existence, was incompatible with the continuance of the republic This class of persons must have hailed with delight the cessation of civil strife, and looked upon the sovereignty of Octavianus as the greatest boon that could have been obtained from Heaven

CHAPTER XL

ESTABLISHMENT OF THE MONARCHY UNDER AUGUSTUS

During the whole period of Roman history which now follows, the fate of the empire is so inseparably connected with that of its individual rulers that its annals henceforth consist of little more than the biographies of the successive sovereigns The reign of Octavianus, however, has a peculiar interest from the circumstance that it forms the transition from the republican to the monarchical form of government and it is this gradual transition which we have to contemplate before we proceed with the narrative of the external events of his reign

The battle of Actium had put an end to a long series of bloody and destructive civil wars, and Octavianus, having no longer to combat any adversary, now found it possible to restore the blessings of peace and order *During* his long reign of forty four years, from B C 30 till A D 14 republican freedom was gradually forgotten, the generation which had taken part in the late struggles soon died away, and those who retained a recollection of the horrid bloodshed that had stained the latter years of the republic could not wish to see those times restored with very few exceptions, all seemed led to the conclusion that a mild monarchy is a happier state than a republic in a condition

condition from which it had only just emerged As it was evident that he was desirous of making the people forget their former misery, as well as his own acts of cruelty, both the senate and the people received with enthusiastic joy the announcement that he consented to remain at the head of the republic Being anxious however to avoid every appearance of a wish to obtain regal power he refused to accept the title of dictator which was offered him and was satisfied with the novel title of *Augustus*[1] which was conferred upon him at the beginning of B C 27 on the proposal of L Munatius Plancus Along with this he accepted for ten years the title of *Imperator*,[2] which conferred upon him the military command of all the Roman armies and afterwards allowed it to be renewed each time for five or ten years with an affected reluctance by which he endeavoured to impress upon the senate and people that he himself was most anxious to preserve the republican constitution for his great plan was to acquire sovereign power without abolishing any of the republican forms which accordingly were carefully retained By this means he gradually concentrated in his own person all the different powers which under the republic had belonged to the different magistrates Thus in B C 23 he was invested with the tribunician power for life whereby his person became for ever sacred and inviolable like that of a tribune of the people By virtue of this power he could annul any decree of the senate and interfere in all the acts of other magistrates while any one might appeal to him from any of the courts of justice it lastly gave him the right to convoke the senate and put to the vote any subject he might think proper In like manner he

[1] The name *Augustus* is probably connected with the word *augur* and signifies the sacred or venerable whence the Greek version expresses it by Σεβαστός All the subsequent emperors assumed the title of Augustus as a surname and every empress had the title of *Augusta* though other female relations of an emperor also were sometimes honoured with it The full name of Octavianus now was *C Julius Caesar Octavianus Augustus* From the time of Hadrian the presumptive successor of an emperor was distinguished by the title *Caesar*

[2] The title *Imperator* (Emperor) was used by him as a praenomen and afterwards remained so with all the Roman monarchs

right of introducing any subject for discussion In B C 24, he was formally exempted from all laws, a regulation which remained in force under his successors, while their edicts were as binding as laws or decrees of the senate had been before During the latter period of his reign, Augustus rarely attended the meetings of the senate, but formed for himself a kind of state-council or committee, consisting of 20 senators, with whom he deliberated upon all subjects which were to be brought before the senate, and whatever he proposed appears to have been passed forthwith, without any discussion [4] The senate had formerly been the supreme court of justice in cases of crimes against the majesty of the republic, as the state had now become identified with the person of the emperor, Augustus left to the senate the decision of all cases in which the majesty of his person was violated, since it would have been odious for him to assume jurisdiction in such instances

Augustus had no ministers in our sense of the word but in all matters of importance, which he did not wish to be discussed in public, he availed himself of the advice of his friends, the most eminent among whom were M Vipsanius Agrippa, C Cilnius Maecenas, M Valerius Messala, and Asinius Pollio, all men of great ability in some department or other Maecenas was a Roman eques, descended from an illustrious Etruscan family he loved ease and comfort and was fond of indulging in the refined luxuries of life, but the influence he exercised on Augustus was very beneficial for he succeeded in restraining the emperor's natural inclination to cowardice and cruelty, and at the same time that he was himself a promoter and supporter of everything that contributed to embellish and adorn social life, he also inspired Augustus with a similar desire It may be said in general that Maecenas did more than any one else to render the age of Augustus brilliant and illustrious especially by his patronage of literature and the arts, for which his name has become proverbial We need not here discuss the question

[4] Dion Cass liv 13, Sueton *Aug* 35

prudent enough not to interfere, when the people, as was the case sometimes insisted upon their own will being carried [7]. The legislative power of the assemblies died away very gradually several laws are mentioned which were passed in the reign of Augustus in the old republican manner, but in the time of his successor, Tiberius, we hear no more of them. The worship of the gods which had lately been greatly neglected, was taken especial care of by Augustus, and in many instances he went far beyond upholding that which still existed, reviving old and forgotten superstitions and forms of worship. Whether this arose from his own superstitious feelings or whether it was devised to make the people believe that he was endeavouring to restore the good old times, is a matter of uncertainty. But what seems to have engaged his attention more than any thing else was the restoration of peace and safety in the city where it was not uncommon for assassins to roam about with their daggers in broad daylight [8], without any one being bold enough to check them. Augustus extirpated these banditti by suitable police regulations with great resolution and firmness. He divided the whole extent of the city including the suburbs into fourteen regions each with a separate local magistrate, and each region was subdivided into *vici* the affairs of each of which were managed by an officer called *vici magister*. This wise arrangement rendered it possible also to introduce an efficient city police the *vigiles* or *cohortes urbanae* who had to watch over the safety of the city, and to assist in cases of fire riots and the like. The whole administration of the city and the superintendence of all its local officers as well as the vigiles was given to a new magistrate created by Augustus under the title of *praefectus urbi*. Rome which had before been almost like a den of robbers now became a safe place and the people had reason to be grateful to the emperor for it. In like manner he divided the whole of Italy from the foot of the Alps to the straits of Sicily, into a number of regions, each of which was probably headed by some magistrate for the purpose of jurisdiction.

[7] Vel. Pat. i. 91.

[8] Sueton. *Aug.* 32. 43.

For his personal safety, Augustus established a body-guard of ten prætorian cohorts, each consisting of 800 or 1000 men both cavalry and infantry, the whole of this body of troops was commanded by the *præfectus prætorio*, an officer who, in the course of time, became second in importance only to the emperor himself.[1] Each of these soldiers, or *prætorianus*, received double the pay of the ordinary soldiers in a legion. But in order to avoid the appearance of military despotism, Augustus kept only three of these cohorts in the city, while the rest were scattered over the towns of Italy, until Tiberius pretending that they were necessary for the safety of Rome *drew* them all to the city, where they were kept in a fortified camp called *castra prætoria*. The whole of the military forces, over which Augustus had the supreme command, amounted to about 150 000, and the principal parts of his navy were stationed in the ports of Misenum and Ravenna.

In order to keep peace in the countries which had been subdued by force, it became necessary to keep standing armies in them, especially in the distant provinces of Spain, on the Rhine, the Danube and Euphrates, and the standing camps (*castra stativa*) in which the troops were stationed were, in many cases, in the course of time, changed into towns. In B. C. 27, Augustus made an arrangement with the senate, by which the provinces were divided between him and the senate. Those which were assigned to the senate (*provinciae senatoriae* or *populi*) were governed by persons appointed by the senate every year, but without the imperium since Augustus himself had the *proconsular imperium* in all the provinces, they therefore had neither the power of levying armies nor of carrying on a war, and were commonly designated proconsuls though they might never have been invested with the consulship. The provinces which were given to the emperor (*provinciae Caesareae*) were governed by persons whom Augustus himself chose to appoint, and the term of their office also depended upon his discretion. They

[1] Sueton. *Aug.* 46, 49. Tacit. *Ann.* iv. 5. Dion Cass. li. 24.

bore the title *legati Caesaris* or *Augusti*, to which *pro praetore* was sometimes added In this division of the provinces, Augustus took care that those which required a military force for their protection were reserved for him, while the more peaceful provinces, in which there was no occasion for keeping armies were left to the senate This arrangement, on the whole, remained in force down to the time of Constantine, though it would seem that sometimes the emperor made an exchange of one province for another with the senate The government of Augustus exercised a most beneficial influence upon the provinces, and hence forth their fate was incomparably better than it had been under the republic, for the governors now received salaries from the state and a very strict superintendence was kept over them Accordingly some of the provinces especially those in which no armies were stationed now entered upon a period of increasing prosperity Egypt, which was one of the greatest consequence to Rome on account of its being one of the principal places from which she drew her supplies of corn, was governed in a peculiar manner The emperor usually appointed a Roman eques who was invested with almost regal power and all other equites as well as senators were forbidden to visit Egypt, perhaps to prevent the inhabitants of the country from being excited to revolt which would have produced very serious consequences both for Rome and Italy

These arrangements regarding the provinces were necessarily followed by a change in the administration of the finances, which had hitherto belonged to the senate alone The civil wars had exhausted the public treasury, and the assignment of the public lands in Italy to the veterans had deprived the state of a considerable portion of its revenues The division of the provinces was now made on these terms —the income derived from the provinces of the senate went into the public treasury (*aerarium*) and out of it the senate had to pay the current expenses, but the revenue derived from the Caesarean provinces went into the treasury of the emperor (*fiscus*, not to be confounded with the emperor's *private* purse) and out of it the armies were paid.

All the domain land in the provinces, whether they belonged to the senate or the emperor, was regarded as the property of the emperor, who derived the income from it, and might dispose of it at his pleasure But besides these, there were several other sources from which a considerable revenue flowed into the fiscus, such as the tax levied on legacies and inheritances (*vicesima hereditatum*) the excise duties on all goods exposed for sale (*centesima rerum venalium*), the tax levied on persons living in celibacy (*uxorium*), and others At a later time the aerarium was completely swallowed up by the fiscus, and the latter then became the only public treasury, so that the whole of the finances of the empire was under the control of the emperors

The improvement of morality, and the increase of the free population, likewise engaged the attention of Augustus, who made great efforts to introduce a better feeling among the people. In B C 17, a law was passed to prevent adultery, by which heavy penalties were inflicted not only on the seducer, but also upon the conniving party Another law, intended to introduce a better regulation of marriage (*de maritandis ordinibus*), was passed the year after, and in B C 9, there followed the celebrated *lex Papia Poppaea*, a kind of amendment of, and supplement to, the preceding one it derived its name from Papius Mutilus and Poppaeus Secundus who were consuls in that year This law not only regulated and encouraged matrimony and endeavoured to get rid of concubinage, but even conferred certain privileges on those who were fathers of at least three children (*jus trium liberorum*), though in later times these privileges were sometimes granted as a personal favour to persons who had no right to claim them All these and many more regulations were unquestionably well meant, but they did not produce much improvement, for the evils against which they were directed can only be eradicated gradually Augustus also made very useful provisions for preventing famine in the city be promoted commerce and industry made public roads, and executed several other public works of great utility The large sums of money which were thus put into circulation gave a fresh impulse to

CHAPTER XLI

WARS OF THE REIGN OF AUGUSTUS.—HIS FAMILY.—HIS DEATH

An empire like that of Rome could not remain in the perfect enjoyment of peace, however desirous Augustus might be to preserve it, in order to make the people feel the contrast between his reign and the latter period of the republic Under the influence of this desire he undertook no wars which he did not think absolutely necessary for the safety of the empire, and the object of his campaigns and conquests was only to secure the frontiers, which were then more threatened than ever, and to establish more firmly the Roman dominion in those countries which had been reduced shortly before his time The Dacian tribes on the left bank of the lower Danube frequently crossed the river and annoyed the province of Moesia, especially in winter, when the river was frozen In order to prevent these inroads, Augustus, in B C 27, sent his legate, M Crassus, to the Danube The Romans were victorious, but their success produced no lasting effect, for the Dacians still continued to repeat their incursions, and Rome was unsuccessful in her attempt to gain a firm footing north of the Danube

In the same year Augustus himself set out for Gaul intending it is said, to go to Britain, but he turned aside, and went into Spain He directed his course against the Cantabri and Astures, in the north of the peninsula, it being his object to subdue all Spain and to make in that part of the world the ocean the boundary of the empire The war against these warlike tribes lasted for some years, and Augustus did not return to Rome till B C 24, when his enemies submitted and gave hostages During this campaign Augustus founded several towns in Spain,

the most important of which were Augusta Emerita (Merida), and Caesar Augusta (Saragossa) Two years later the Cantabri again revolted, but were finally subdued, in B C 19, by Agrippa, who destroyed the flower of the nation

About the same time, B C 24, Aelius Gallus, the governor of Egypt, undertook an expedition into Arabia Felix, which however turned out a complete failure, for diseases broke out among his troops, and being led by his guides on round about ways into the most dangerous parts of the wilderness, he was in the end obliged to return without having effected any thing The manner in which he had allowed himself to be misguided is clear from the fact, that he effected his return in sixty days, while he spent six months in the expedition into Arabia This unsuccessful enterprise encouraged Candace, queen of the Ethiopians of Meroë, to invade Egypt, in B C 22 She ravaged the country, and conquered the Roman garrisons of several towns, but C Petronius, who had succeeded Gallus as governor of Egypt, defeated her in her own country, after she had sustained a severe loss Augustus, to whom she applied for mercy did not deprive her of her kingdom he even relieved her from the tribute which Petronius had demanded of her Free commerce with the interior of Africa was secured by a victory which L Cornelius Balbus the governor of the province of Africa, gained over the Garamantes, for which he was honoured, in B C 19, with a triumph

In the mean time an event occurred in the east which seems to have filled with joy the heart of every Roman Soon after Augustus' return from Spain, Tiridates, king of Parthia, was driven from his kingdom by Phraates The exiled king took refuge at Rome, but Phraates also sent an embassy to demand the surrender of Tiridates Augustus refused to comply with this request, but consented to restore a son of Phraates, who had before fallen into his hands, on condition of Phraates giving back to the Romans the standards which had been taken by the Parthians in the unfortunate campaigns of Crassus and M Antony This demand was complied with, in B C 20, because Phraates

was afraid of encountering the Roman arms Tiberius being at the time engaged in restoring Tigranes to his kingdom of Armenia Augustus was at this time in Samos where he spent the winter, as he had done the year before, and when the standards arrived his vanity was so much gratified, that he struck medals to commemorate the event and afterwards caused the standards to be hung in the temple of Mars Ultor which he built at Rome Another very flattering circumstance happened while he was staying at Samos there arrived ambassadors from the Scythians, and from an Indian king Pandion with presents to solicit the friendship of Augustus which the Indians seem to have endeavoured to obtain even before, while Augustus was yet in Spain[1] When the emperor left Samos an Indian gymnosophist accompanied him to Athens, and there burnt himself alive As Augustus was returning to Rome he met Virgil who was on a journey to Asia but being taken ill Virgil returned with the emperor from Athens to Brundusium where he died in October B C 19

Many parts of the Alps were still inhabited by free and independent tribes and so long as they were not subdued Italy could not be safe In B C 25 while Augustus was yet engaged in Spain a war against the Alpine tribes was commenced by an army under Terentius Varro who began his operations by a campaign against the Salassi in the Graian Alps They were subdued with great loss the Roman general having sold 36 000 men into slavery and for the protection of Italy the town of Augusta Praetoria (Aosta) was founded It seems that this defeat stirred up all the nations north of the Alps on the upper Rhine and the Danube. The commotions in Gaul were suppressed by Agrippa but M. Lollius a greedy legate on the Rhine provoked the Germans inhabiting the eastern bank of the river in consequence of which the Sigambri Usipetes and Tencteri crossed the Rhine and defeated the Romans in B C 16 probably in the neighbourhood of the modern town of Xanten Augustus who entertained the greatest apprehensions in regard to these

[1] Oros. vi 21

commotions, went himself to Gaul, and remained there until B.C. 13, for the purpose of regulating the affairs of the country, and of making the necessary preparations for securing the western banks of the Rhine. On his return to Rome, he intrusted the protection of those countries to Drusus, the son of his wife Livia by her first husband. Up to this time Drusus and his brother Tiberius had been engaged in a war in Noricum, Raetia, and Vindelicia, and had subdued all the Alpine tribes, even those living in the most secluded valleys, so completely, that henceforth we hear of no further attempt on their part to shake off the Roman yoke.[2] During that war the Romans founded Augusta Vindelicorum (Augsburg) in the south of Germany. When Drusus proceeded to the Rhine, Agrippa continued the operations in Pannonia, for the emperor's plan was to secure all the country between the Alps and the Danube, and when Agrippa died, in B.C. 12, Tiberius continued the war in Pannonia, and afterwards against the revolted Dalmatians, and ravaged the country of the Scordiscans in a frightful manner.

No sooner had Drusus undertaken the command on the lower Rhine, than he began to form the plan of subduing Germany, probably more with a view to crush that nation than with the intention of gaining a permanent footing in a country which promised little booty, and was almost impassable to Roman armies on account of its immense forests and marshes. Drusus accordingly allied himself with the Batavi and Frisians, and having by means of a canal (*fossa Drusi*) joined the Rhine and Yssel, he sailed into the aestuary Flevus (Zuidersee) and thus arrived in the Northern or German Ocean. After taking possession of some islands, and the town of Burchana (Borcum), at the mouth of the Ems, he was obliged by the approach of winter to return. In the spring of B.C. 11, he opened his campaign by crossing the Rhine, and penetrated into the country of the Usipetes, whom he subdued. He then attacked the Sigambri, and advanced

[2] Pliny, *Hist. Nat.* iii. 24, who quotes an inscription naming all the tribes that were subdued in this war.

into the country of the Cherusci as far as the river Weser, but there the approach of winter again obliged him to retrace his steps As he was proceeding towards the Rhine he had to fight a severe battle, in which he came into great danger However, that he might not be obliged to give up the conquered country altogether, he founded the fortress of Abso, near the sources of the Lippe, and leaving behind him a strong garrison returned to the Rhine In the year following, the war was continued against the Sigambri and Bructeri with varying success The Chatti then also rose against the Romans, but, in B C 9, Drusus marched into their territory, and having subdued them, advanced through the country of the Cherusci, even as far as the river Elbe, the left bank of which was inhabited by the Longobardi (Lombards), but he did not cross the river Want of provisions compelled him to retreat on his way back, he fell from his horse, and having injured himself very severely, died thirty days after, not far from the banks of the Rhine His brother Tiberius, on hearing of the accident, hastened to his assistance he found him still alive, but Drusus expired soon after, and Tiberius then led his brother's army back to Gaul, and accompanied his corpse to Rome

Tiberius was now appointed to the command of the forces of Drusus, and, in B C 8, he crossed the Rhine to continue the operations of his brother But the Germans, with the exception of the Sigambri, sent ambassadors to sue for peace The emperor refused to negotiate with them on any other terms than their absolute submission Many Germans, with their chiefs, then came to the Roman camp, where they were treacherously arrested, and distributed as hostages among the towns of central Gaul The Sigambri now rose in perfect fury against their faithless enemies, but Tiberius gained a decisive victory over them and transplanted 40,000 Sigambri and Suevi to the left bank of the Rhine Notwithstanding these achievements, the Romans were as yet unable to make Germany a tributary province[3]

[3] Vell Pat ii 97, Tacit Ann i 26

Maroboduus, king of the Marcomanni This people had originally inhabited the country between the rivers Maine, Rhine, and Danube, but had gradually extended their dominion as far as Bohemia Their king Maroboduus ruled over a great kingdom having regular political institutions, with a well organized army of 70,000 foot, and 4000 horse He had taken up his residence in Bohemia to be as far away as possible from the Romans Tiberius now formed a plan of attacking him on two sides, his legate, Sentius Saturninus, marched through the country of the Chatti towards Bohemia, while Tiberius himself set out with his legions from Illyricum When the two armies had approached each other within the distance of only a few days' marches, Tiberius was informed of a revolt of the Pannonians and Dalmatians, which suddenly compelled him to give up the contemplated war against Maroboduus lest as he had reason to fear, the insurgents should invade Italy He accordingly concluded peace with Maroboduus,[4] and hastened to Pannonia, where two persons of the name of Bato were at the head of this formidable insurrection, who had already commenced ravaging Macedonia In A D 7, Tiberius was joined by an army under Germanicus, but the Romans were at first unable to subdue the rebels in the year following the Pannonians and Dalmatians were obliged, by famine and pestilence to sue for peace Soon after, however, the war broke out afresh the Romans now made desperate efforts, and conducted their operations with three armies The fall of the fortress of Anderion at length obliged the rebels forsaken by their leaders, to submit to Rome IN A D 9 The country between the Adriatic and the Danube was cruelly ravaged during this war

At the time when Sentius Saturninus left the province of Germany, for the purpose of joining Tiberius in the war against Maro-

[4] It seems strange that Maroboduus, who must have known that Tiberius was preparing to make war against him, should be so easily prevailed upon to make peace, and remain quiet during the war in Pannonia and Dalmatia but we must suppose that the terms of peace granted by Tiberius were very favourable to Maroboduus.

boduus, P Quintilius Varus, who had till then been governor of Syria where he had satisfied his avarice with a rapacity worthy of a Verres received the command of the legions stationed in Germany There his haughtiness and avarice drew upon him the hatred of all and the aversion was increased by his rude attempts to introduce the language and customs of the Romans among the barbarians A conspiracy accordingly was formed against him which was headed by Arminius, a young Cheruscan chief who had received a Roman education and had been raised to the rank of an eques but had at the same time imbibed a strong hatred and contempt of the Romans He commanded at the time a detachment of Cherusci in the army of Varus and having caused an insurrection of the Germans in a distant part of the country he prevailed upon Varus to set out against the rebels As the preconcerted insurrection broke out in several places at once Varus scattered his forces and was in the end obliged to retreat In the autumn of A D 9 as the Romans were marching heedlessly the Cheruscan chiefs remained behind under the pretext of collecting their people but when Varus and his legions arrived in a thick forest the Cherusci joined by other tribes fell upon the unsuspecting Romans The latter continued their retreat under the most unpropitious circumstances for while they were obliged to defend their rear and flanks against the enemy, they were further impeded by tempestuous weather and the marshy soil of the country On the third day the Germans made their final attack, and nearly all the Romans were cut to pieces and their standards taken Varus made away with himself, and a few only escaped to Aliso and the banks of the Rhine. The conquests east of the Rhine were thus lost When the news of the destruction of the Roman army reached Augustus he is said to have been seized with rage and despair and to have exclaimed Varus Varus give me back my legions! and from fear of an outbreak among his praetorian guards he is said to have dismissed the Germans who were serving among them

The year after this defeat, Tiberius again undertook the command against the Germans, in which he was accompanied by *Germanicus, the promising son of his brother Drusus*. They proceeded to the Rhine, but as Aliso had in the mean time *fallen into the hands of the enemy and been destroyed, they did not venture to penetrate into Germany*, but confined themselves to protecting the western bank of the Rhine. In A. D. 11, both returned to Rome, and their legates who remained behind, with their successors, who for some time followed their example, confined themselves to the warding off the Germans from the western bank of the Rhine.

In this manner the reign of Augustus came to its close. He had been successful throughout in the establishment of his power, *which, towards the end of his life was as safe as if he had been born on the throne, and with the exception of the German war, all his military undertakings, whether conducted by* himself or his lieutenants, had been crowned with success. He was enabled thrice to close the temple of Janus, as a sign that peace prevailed throughout the empire. But notwithstanding all this outward success and prosperity, he was unhappy in his own family relations and that partly through his own fault. He was one of those men *whom fortune surrounds with all her outward splendour*, and who can yet partake but little of the general happiness which they establish or promote. His domestic misfortunes must have embittered all his enjoyments. He was first married to Clodia, a daughter of the notorious P. Clodius and Fulvia, and after having divorced her he married Scribonia, a relation of Sextus Pompeius, by *whom he became the father of an only daughter, Julia, but* Scribonia, *too, was repudiated, and he then married Livia Drusilla* the wife of Tib. Claudius Nero, who was already mother of two sons, Tiberius Nero (afterwards the emperor Tiberius) and Drusus Nero. Livia was a woman of the greatest cunning and ambition; she was resolved, at any cost, to raise her sons by her former husband, and to get rid of the relatives of Augustus him

self But she succeeded nevertheless in preserving the attachment of Augustus to the end of his life, and while she connived at his foibles, she exercised over him an almost unlimited power, especially during his latter years M Marcellus, the son of Augustus' sister Octavia, by C Claudius Marcellus, was a young man of the highest promise, who enjoyed the esteem not only of his own relatives but of the whole Roman people His favour with Augustus was so great that he adopted him, and gave him his daughter Julia in marriage, and the general belief at Rome was that Marcellus would succeed Augustus These marks of favour irritated Agrippa, the friend of Augustus, to such a degree that he withdrew from Rome, nor did he return, till a premature death had cut short the career of Marcellus, in B C 23 at the age of twenty The death of Marcellus, which was believed, though perhaps without reason, to have been accelerated by Livia, threw the whole of the Roman world into the deepest grief His widow, Julia was now obliged to marry Agrippa whom Augustus seems then to have fixed upon as his successor Julia became by him the mother of Caius Caesar (born B C 20) and Lucius Caesar (born B C 17) who were both adopted by Augustus and at an early age raised to the highest honours and distinctions When Agrippa died in B C 12 Livia's son Tiberius was forced against his will, to abandon his wife Vipsania Agrippina, and to marry Julia who had already become notorious for her dissolute conduct, though her father seems to have been unaware of it But Tiberius being dissatisfied no less with the wife forced upon him than with the distinctions heaped upon her sons Caius and Lucius Caesar, withdrew in B C 6 to Rhodes where under the pretence of literary pursuits, he spent upwards of seven years in retirement and where he probably formed those habits of dark reserve and mistrust which characterise his later years In the mean time the dissolute conduct of Julia became known to her father, and in B C 2 he exiled her to the island of Pandataria (Santa Maria) off the coast of Campania, whither she was followed by her mother, Scribonia Julia's daughter,

the younger Julia who inherited the vices of her mother was exiled in A D 9 to the island of Tremerus off the coast of Apulia In addition to these afflictions Augustus in B C 8 had to lament the death of the poet Horace and that of his faithful friend Maecenas His two grandsons Caius and Lucius Caesar, likewise died in the bloom of life Caius was invested with the consulship for the year B C 1 and went to Asia Phraates king of Parthia had then invaded Armenia but a peace was concluded with him in A D 2 and as Caius went to take possession of Armenia he was treacherously wounded by an unknown person He proceeded as far as the Lycian town of Limyra, and there died in the month of February A.D 4 His brother Lucius died eighteen months before at Massilia, on his way to Spain It was suspected at Rome that the death of both had been occasioned by Livia in order to secure the succession to her son Tiberius who now returned to Rome through her influence he was adopted by Augustus and obtained the tribunician power for ten years Tiberius himself was at the same time obliged to adopt Drusus Germanicus, the son of his late brother Drusus Nero Livia's object was now gained, for the succession was secured to her son and through him to the family of the Claudii which had been distinguished for its pride and insolence from the earliest times of the republic

In the year B C 4 or according to perhaps the better authorities in B C 3 Jesus Christ was born at Bethlehem in Judea,[5] an event which though at the moment it exercised no influence upon the world was yet destined gradually to work out the greatest and most salutary changes in the notions of men concerning the Deity and their views of morality

In A D 14 Augustus assisted by Tiberius held a census the

[5] Some chronologers place the birth of our Saviour A.C. 9 and it is now acknowledged fact that our common calculation of the years after Christ starts three or four years too late so that at this moment instead of 1847 we ought to write 1843 or 1844 But the common and familiar notation is retained for the purpose of preventing confusion See Clinton, *Fast. Hell.* vol. iii. p. 256 &c.

third in his reign, and in the summer of that year, after the celebration of some games at Naples, he retired to Nola His health had been greatly impaired for some years after a short illness he died at Nola on the 19th of August, A D 14, in the same room in which his father had died When he felt his end approaching, he assembled his friends around him, and asked them whether they thought he had played his part in life well, and if they did so, he added, 'Give me your applause" He expired in the arms of Livia, who is said by some writers to have poisoned him, perhaps for no other reason but this, that she kept his death secret until Tiberius had returned to Nola where he was forthwith saluted as the successor of Augustus The body of the emperor was carried by the decuriones or magistrates of Nola to Bovillae, whence it was conveyed by the Roman equites along the Via Appia to the city There it was solemnly burnt in the Campus Martius, and his ashes were deposited in the mausoleum which he himself had built as a burial place for the members of his family

Augustus has pronounced judgment upon himself in the question he put to his friends on his death bed for an accomplished actor undoubtedly he was and a great part he played Public opinion in his own time praised him as a wise statesman and a mild ruler, and with justice for the empire under him enjoyed a period of great peace and prosperity and many of the wounds inflicted on it during the civil wars were healed although wars were carried on upon the frontiers the body of the empire had never enjoyed so long and uninterrupted a time of peace But if we turn away from the effects and inquire into the motives of his actions his conduct appears in a different light Previous to his victory at Actium he had been cruel, ruthless to his friends selfish and in many instances cowardly after that event, it seems that his own fears compelled him to strive to deserve the affection of his people and supported by his friends, he learned to appear good even when he was differently inclined But, admitting that none of his good actions

CHAPTER XLII

THE EMPEROR TIBERIUS.—HIS WARS.—SEJANUS AND HIS INFLUENCE.—TYRANNY OF TIBERIUS, AND HIS DEATH

WHEN Augustus died, Tiberius was fifty six years old In his early youth his education had been conducted with great care, though there was no prospect of his ever becoming the successor of Augustus, until the death of C and L Caesar, the sons of Agrippa and Julia During the whole period from the time that he arrived at the age of manhood down to the death of Augustus, he showed great activity and talent, whether at the head of an army or in the council, whereby he attracted considerable attention He had, however, a strong inclination to vice, though by his great power of dissimulation he succeeded in keeping it concealed This circumstance made him extremely reserved and mistrustful to everybody, which disposition increased with his years The withdrawal of Tiberius to Rhodes so much offended Augustus that he afterwards refused him permission to return and even allowed persons to speak of him with disrespect without resenting it, but Livia nevertheless prevailed upon her husband to allow him to come to Rome as soon as C and L Caesar were dead During the period which then followed, Tiberius carried on great and important wars in Germany, Pannonia and Dalmatia Augustus in his will appointed him heir of two thirds of his property and though no formal steps had been taken to secure the succession to Tiberius, yet all secret preparations to that effect having been made by Livia the praetorian cohorts were at once prevailed upon to take their oath of allegiance to him. Even before Tiberius went to

Rome, he gave orders to murder Agrippa Postumus, who was living in exile, and who, being the only surviving son of Agrippa and Julia, might have put forth some claim to succeed his grand father There can be little doubt that Livia instigated Tiberius to this murder

When Tiberius arrived at Rome from Nola, he gave a true specimen of his character, for he who knew no fear on the field of battle was always in dread of some secret enemy, and was afraid to say or do things at Rome by which he might com promise himself His great object was to take formal possession of the sovereignty, and yet, being afraid of the senate, he de clined accepting the imperium when it was offered to him he thus obliged the senate to entreat him to accept for the public good that which formed in reality the highest object of his ambi tion The reign of Tiberius, from A D 14 to A D 37, if we except the German war, is less remarkable for military exploits than for the tyrannical mode in which he governed, and for the political changes which he introduced. We shall first give an outline of the wars which were carried on in his reign

In the very year in which he obtained the imperial dignity, formidable insurrections broke out among the legions in Panno nia and on the Rhine In the former country the soldiers had reason to complain, because they had been kept in their camps longer than they were required by law Tiberius was obliged to yield to their demand their service was lightened, and the ad vantages which they were to have at the expiration of their period of service, were secured to them but the leaders of the insurgents were put to death Among the *legions* on the *Rhine* Tiberius was very unpopular, and as soon as they were informed of the death of Augustus, they called upon their commander, Germanicus, to undertake the government of the empire Ger manicus was the adopted son of Tiberius and possessed the love and admiration of his troops, but he nobly and generously refused the offer, and having quieted the soldiers he led them from Castra Vetera (Xanten) against the Marsians in Westphalia

In the year following he penetrated into the country of the Chatti, and saved Segestes, the father-in-law of Arminius, who had always been a friend of the Romans, and was now besieged by Arminius Thusnelda, the wife of the latter, was taken prisoner on that occasion, and afterwards carried to Rome Arminius now exerted all his energy to rouse his people and the neighbouring tribes to a vigorous resistance against their common enemies Germanicus, dreading to march through this most difficult country, sailed with a fleet from the mouth of the Rhine to that of the Ems, and thence advanced into the interior of the country, while his legate, A Caecina, set out from Castra Vetera by land, to join the forces of Germanicus When the Romans arrived in the place where Varus and his legions had been defeated, Germanicus buried the remains of his countrymen, which were still covering the ground, and then returned to the coast During his voyage along the Frisian coast to the mouth of the Rhine, his fleet suffered severely from storms, and A Caecina, who on his return to Castra Vetera was pursued by the Germans, likewise sustained considerable loss But Germanicus was not discouraged in A D 16 he crossed the Rhine and advanced as far as the Weser, where, at a place called Idistaviso, he defeated Arminius, and soon after gained a second and brilliant victory After having erected a trophy on the field of battle, the Romans returned to the Rhine—Germanicus by sea, and the legions by land This return again was not effected without great loss of ships and men

These victories of Germanicus and his great popularity amongst his soldiers excited the fear and suspicions of Tiberius, who was at all times unwilling to give to his generals an opportunity of distinguishing themselves at the head of their armies Tiberius therefore resolved to leave the Germans to their internal quarrels, and recalled Germanicus, who in A D 17 celebrated a triumph over the Cherusci, Chatti, and Angrivarii, during which solemnity it became evident that Germanicus was the darling, not only of the army, but of the Roman people Tiberius therefore sent him

to the east where Parthia and Armenia were in commotion in consequence of the dethronement of Vonones king of the Parthians by Artabanus At the same time Tiberius sent out Cn Piso a personal enemy of Germanicus as governor of Syria with secret instructions, it was supposed to thwart Germanicus Plancina, Piso's wife assisted her husband, and annoyed Agrippina, the wife of Germanicus who accompanied him in all his campaigns wherever she had an opportunity Germanicus though well aware of all this devoted himself most earnestly to the objects of his mission He placed the crown of Armenia on the head of Zeno made Cappadocia a Roman province and left Q Servaeus behind in the command of an army in Commagene Afterwards he satisfied his noble curiosity and love of knowledge by a visit to the wondrous country of Egypt he sailed up the Nile from Canopus to Syene but this excursion gave great offence to Tiberius since no Roman of rank was allowed to visit Egypt without the emperor's permission On his return to Syria, Germanicus found everything neglected, and the enmity between him and Piso openly declared Soon after Germanicus was taken ill, and died in the neighbourhood of Antioch A.D 19 probably of poison which had been administered to him by Piso and his wife. His death was the cause of great grief to every one except Tiberius who alone showed no symptom of it Piso was afterwards accused of the murder of Germanicus but the investigation was stopped by the sudden death of Piso which was perhaps caused by the command of Tiberius he may have dreaded the disclosures which might be made but the suspicion of Piso's guilt remained unshaken.

In A.D 19 Drusus the only son of Tiberius by Vipsania commanded an army on the Danube which was intended to humble the Marcomannian king Marobodnus Catualda, a young prince of the neighbouring tribe of the Gothones probably in concert with the Romans, attacked Marobodnus in his capital in Bohemia, and made himself master of it. Marobodnus now took refuge with the Romans and Tiberius permitted him to spend the remainder

of his life at Ravenna in Italy The Romans left Bohemia in the hands of Catualda, who however was soon after expelled from his kingdom, and was ordered by the Romans to take up his abode at Forum Julium (Frejus) in the south of Gaul About the same time insurrections broke out in Gaul, in consequence of the heavy taxes which the people had to pay In the country of the Treviri, the rebels were headed by Julius Florus, and in that of the Aedui by Julius Sacrovir, but the legate, C Silius, easily subdued the insurgents in A D 21, and took possession of Augustodunum, which had been the principal seat of the war The peace of the province of Africa was disturbed by the Numidian Tacfarinas, but it was soon restored by C Junius Blaesus, a nephew of Sejanus, who in A D 22 gained a victory over Tacfarinas In A D 28 the Frisians, being iniquitously oppressed by the Romans, revolted, and recovered their independence, the legate L Apronius being unable to subdue them

With these exceptions the reign of Tiberius was not disturbed by foreign enemies, and its history is almost confined to the emperor's proceedings at home He well knew that, during the long reign of his predecessor, the people had gradually lost their interest in political matters, and he could therefore without any risk venture to transfer the functions which had till then belonged to the assembly of the people, to the senate, which at the same time became the highest criminal court in all offences committed against the state The senate in its abject servility sanctioned everything which the emperor wished, and the readier it was to carry out his caprices and arbitrary measures, the further he went in abusing his power, and the more boldly and openly he began to carry out his tyrannical designs Hitherto the crime of high treason (*crimen majestatis*) had been regarded as a crime against the people or the republic, but Tiberius declared guilty of it every one who either in acting or speaking or writing, should offend the majesty of his person Things of a similar kind had occurred in the reign of Augustus, but under Tiberius the whole proceedings were reduced to a perfect system the regulations of which

entered into the most minute detail This measure called forth at once a host of denouncers *(delatores)*, who formed a sort of secret police against whom no person of virtue or wealth was safe, and who in their turn increased the emperor's timidity, and the suspicion with which he looked upon every one Many of the best and noblest citizens fell victims to these denouncers, for the senate gradually got into the habit of condemning every one that was brought before them, and of looking to nothing but the emperor s pleasure During the first six years of his reign, things went on pretty evenly, for he felt constrained to assume a certain moderation in his conduct he took great pains with his appearance when he came into public, treated great men with distinction, and kept a strict economy in the finances of the empire, but after the death of Germanicus, of whom he had been afraid he gradually began to give the reins to his evil passions He had no friend whatever, for he knew no one whom he could trust, and the only being for whom he had any regard was his mother Livia, of whom he stood in awe down to her death in A.D 29, though a real affection between them had ceased to exist many years before

One man, however, M Aebus Sejanus, discovered the means of gaining his sovereign's confidence his character was very like that of his master He was appointed prefect of the praetorian guards, and was a man of great talent and activity, but his powers were employed for evil purposes, and he could be as servile as he was naturally proud and ambitious He maintained himself in his influential position from A D 20 to A D 31 He alone knew how to convince the emperor that he could follow his own inclinations with more impunity than he thought for, and he was thus a most convenient adviser for Tiberius During the period of his influence, he was the instrument of the emperor's despotism in a series of revolting crimes and cruelties nor did Tiberius, who was otherwise extremely jealous, ever attempt to curtail his powers they were rendered more formidable to every one by the military force he had at his com-

mand In order to have his soldiery ever ready at hand, he prevailed upon Tiberius, in A D 23, to assemble all the praetorian cohorts in the neighbourhood of Rome, where they were stationed in the castra praetoria, which formed a kind of citadel of the city This measure was of the most direful consequences to the future destiny of the empire, as the soldiers gradually learnt that in reality they had all the power in their own hands A plan was formed by Sejanus to get rid of all the relatives of his master, and by this means to secure the succession to himself In order to gain his end with perfect safety, he persuaded the emperor, who knew of no enjoyment except that of sensual lust, to withdraw, in A D 26, from Rome to Capua, thence to Nola, and finally to the island of Capreae (Capri), in the bay of Naples, the access to which was guarded by a military force There the tyrant unseen and undisturbed abandoned himself to the most disgusting sensual pleasures, and sometimes amused himself with inflicting the most cruel tortures upon those whom the senate had condemned

The period at which Tiberius withdrew to Capreae, is the beginning of the most frightful portion of his reign, for Sejanus now ruled at Rome as if he had been the monarch of the empire, and forthwith set about carrying his plan into effect Drusus Caesar, the only son of Tiberius by his first wife Vipsania, was the presumptive heir in cunning and dissimulation he was not inferior to his father, but as he had distinguished himself in the war in Germany, Tiberius showed him marks of great favour In A D 23, Sejanus, who had entered into an adulterous intercourse with Livia the wife of Drusus, got rid of him by poison, in order that he might marry Livia Tiberius, who was ignorant of the cause of his son's death, bore it with that cool equanimity which in most cases is a proof of the total absence of natural affection and feeling Sejanus, unconcerned about everything else, prosecuted his plan with unremitting zeal, and the persons against whom his deadly weapons were next directed were those of the family of Germanicus, Agrippina and her three sons In

A D 29, Sejanus caused Agrippina and two of her sons, Nero and Drusus, to be exiled Nero was soon got rid of, while Agrippina and Drusus, A D 33, were killed by starvation Caius (afterwards the emperor Caligula), the youngest of her sons, alone escaped, and by his cunning flatteries he even induced Tiberius to admit him into Capreae All the friends of the family of Germanicus were put to death by the command of Sejanus, and many made away with themselves that they might not fall into his hands The death of Livia, the aged mother of Tiberius, in A D 29, at length freed Sejanus from everything by which he had hitherto been restrained, and he now acted as if he had been the real sovereign. But his increasing arrogance at last roused the fear and suspicion of Tiberius, and when Antonia, the aged mother of Germanicus, opened his eyes to the conduct of his favourite, he addressed a letter to the senate, in which he accused Sejanus of high treason. When the letter was read, all were filled with delight at the fall of the monster Macro arrested Sejanus, and the senate, ever ready to obey, condemned him to death. When he was executed, the populace dragged his body into the Tiber all his friends and relatives were put to death under the most cruel tortures, and their property was confiscated. Apicata, the former wife of Sejanus, then revealed his murder of the emperor's son Drusus Macro, a man who had all the vices of Sejanus without any of his redeeming qualities, and had distinguished himself in apprehending him and in taking vengeance on his family, was soon after appointed praefectus praetorio Macro's rule was as tyrannical as that of his predecessor, and no citizen was safe he exercised the same influence over Tiberius and was as faithless to him as his predecessor had been. The emperor himself became more mistrustful misanthropic, and cruel than before Caius Caesar formed now with Macro a connection of the basest kind, the object of it being to get rid of Tiberius, who had latterly withdrawn from Capreae to a villa near Misenum, which had once belonged to Lucullus His debauches and perpetual fears had exhausted

him, and thrown him into a state of lethargy, from which nobody thought that he would recover, and Caius was forthwith proclaimed emperor But Tiberius came to life again, and as it was thought that he would take terrible vengeance for the hasty proclamation of a new sovereign, Macro, in order to save himself and Caius, caused his aged master to be suffocated with beds and pillows, in March, A D 37, when he had reached the age of 78 The news of his death was received at Rome with the greatest joy, and many called out "Down with his body to the Tiber"

In estimating the character of Tiberius, we must distinguish between two periods, for during his reign he scarcely ever displayed any of the great qualities for which he had been distinguished during the earlier part of his life After his accession he became worse and worse, and in his old age his conduct was perfectly contemptible and disgusting.

CHAPTER XLIII

C. CALIGULA.—CLAUDIUS.

Caius Caesar[1] the son of the noble minded Germanicus and Agrippina, raised the greatest hopes in the breast of every Roman for all expected that he would resemble his father in character as he did in the lineaments of his countenance and his accession was hailed by the people with enthusiastic joy The soldiers proclaimed him and the senate readily conferred the sovereign power upon him without heeding the will of Tiberius who had made his own grandson the co heir of Caius Caius was now only 25 years old, and Tiberius with whom he had intoxicated himself by his flattery and cunning servility, had conferred upon him the highest distinctions For some time the enthusiasm of the people appeared to be justified for his first actions showed great moderation and even generosity he recalled many persons from exile refused to listen to the delatores abolished the tax levied on goods exposed for sale, allowed the administration of justice to take its fair course and even restored the comitia of which the people had been deprived by Tiberius He further amused the people with splendid games though by his extravagant liberality and his donations to the people he exhausted the well stocked treasury which his predeceessor had left behind He performed the duties of an affec-

This happy state of things had scarcely lasted eight months, when he was seized with an illness, probably the consequence of his irregular mode of living, for he seems to have always been, in fact, of a savage and voluptuous disposition, which however, he carefully concealed In bodily health he recovered, but his mental powers seem to have been destroyed, and from that moment he was an altered man His actions henceforth were those of a complete madman he yielded to all the secret and savage passions of his soul without any control being exercised over them either by himself or others He immediately ordered Tiberius, the grandson of his predecessor, to be put to death, alleging that he had wished him not to recover from his illness and his own friends, who had vowed their lives for his recovery were compelled to carry their vows into effect by making away with themselves He commanded also his grandmother Antonia Macro the prefect of the praetorian guards, and Macro's wife Ennia Naevia to put an end to their lives His thirst for blood increasing with the number of his victims murder with him became a matter of pleasure and amusement But this was not his only vice his cruelty was equalled by his voluptuousness and obscenity He had first lived in an incestuous intercourse with his sister Drusilla and when she died, A D 38 he wandered about Italy bewailing her loss like an insane person and paying divine honours to her Afterwards he married Lollia a woman of immense wealth, whom he soon abandoned and in her place he took Caesonia for his wife, who contrived to retain her influence over him But his licentiousness and profligacy were so great that no Roman lady was safe against his attacks He at length went so far in his madness as to declare himself a god and he would often appear in the streets of Rome in the disguise of Bacchus, Apollo, Venus, or Diana and command the people to worship him The wealthiest Romans were appointed his priests, a dignity for which they had to pay large sums of money He even conferred the consulship upon his favourite horse Incitatus

The sums of money which he squandered surpass almost all belief one specimen may suffice to show the senseless manner in which he spent it He ordered a bridge to be constructed between Baiæ and Puteoli a distance of upwards of three miles for no other purpose but that he might be able to boast of having walked over the sea as over dry land because some astrologer had once declared that there was as little chance of Caligula's succeeding to the throne as there was of his walking across the bay The regular revenues of the empire not being sufficient to afford him the means for his wild schemes he sold his own estates by public auction imposed unheard-of taxes and had recourse to robbery and every kind of extortion in short there were no means however base and degrading which he did not employ for the purpose of getting money When Rome and Italy were exhausted being obliged to seek other resources he marched in A D 39 with a large army across the Alps into Gaul under the pretext of a war against the Germans but in reality with a view to extort money from the Gauls the wealthiest of whom were put to death that he might obtain possession of their property When he came to the Rhine he ordered some of the Germans who served in his body guard to cross the river and hide themselves he then caused messengers to bring him information that the enemy was there When this was done he suddenly sprung up from his meal, and with a detachment of his guards hurried across the river cut down some trees and in the evening returned with the Germans whom he had found in their hiding place and whom he treated as prisoners of war In A D 40 he set out on an expedition into Britain and marched to the coast He then sailed out into the sea a short distance and afterwards ordered his soldiers to collect shells on the beach, which he called the spoils of the ocean After having committed in Gaul the most horrible cruelties he returned to Rome where his absurd self deification must have convinced every one of his madness Actors gladiators and prostitutes were now his favourite companions

A conspiracy had been formed against this monster as early as A D 39, by Lentulus Gaetulicus and M Lepidus, but it was discovered and the two leaders were put to death at the same time his two sisters, Julia and Agrippina, were sent into exile as guilty of adultery, and as privy to the conspiracy Another plot was subsequently formed against him by some officers of the praetorian cohorts, a body of troops which, until then had kept Rome under the most terrific military despotism and which had always been most liberally treated by Caligula This new conspiracy was headed by Cassius Chaerea Cornelius Sabinus, and others, and four months after the emperor's return from Gaul, on the 24th January, A D 41, he was murdered in his own palace while he was attending the rehearsal of some actors who were to perform in the theatre His wife Caesonia and his daughters were likewise murdered, and the corpse of the emperor which was only half burned, was secretly buried by his friends

Some of his murderers seem to have been actuated by a republican spirit and thus awoke among the senators the fantastic idea of restoring the republic The matter was gravely and warmly discussed, but insurmountable difficulties presented themselves and the senators soon became aware that in reality the praetorian cohorts had all the power in their own hands the latter on their part insisted upon being governed by a monarch During the tumult in which Caligula was murdered Tib Claudius Drusus Nero the son of Drusus and Antonia, and the brother of Germanicus concealed himself in the palace from fear of being seized upon by the conspirators but being discovered there by the praetorians, they dragged him forth from his concealment proclaimed him emperor, took their oath of allegiance to him and on the following day he was recognised by the senate and people Claudius was born on the 1st of August B C 10, and had now arrived at the age of 51 He was of a sickly constitution from his childhood and his own mother is said to have called him a *portentum hominis* His mind seems to have been really defective for all his actions showed a remarkable want of

tact and judgment, and in consequence of this natural defect he was ill treated by his whole family, who were in fact ashamed of him Claudius felt this contempt keenly and sought comfort and recreation in literary pursuits in which he displayed great industry and diligence His cowardice, and the great timidity which overcame him whenever he attempted to do any thing in public, were the results of the ill treatment he had experienced in his early years It cannot, indeed, be denied that during his reign he committed many acts of cruelty but they were the consequence of weakness and imbecility rather than of wickedness or malice, and he certainly does not deserve the name of a tyrant

Up to the time of his accession Claudius had never taken any part in public affairs, though he had several times been invested with the consulship On his accession he gave a donation of nearly one hundred pounds to each soldier of the praetorian cohorts which was the first example of what afterwards became a regular custom on the accession of a new emperor His first act was the proclamation of an amnesty for all who had attempted to restore the republic, and only a few of the murderers of Caligula were put to death. His next measures show the same kind and amiable disposition and are a proof that if he had been left alone

tion, and feeling the want of unfolding the heart to some one, this gave the persons with whom he lived in daily intercourse an unlimited influence over him Messalina, and the freedmen Narcissus, Pallas, Callistus, and others, thus persuaded him to put to death many of the most distinguished persons of the time, and the number of their victims was increased, in A D 42, on the discovery of a conspiracy which had been formed by Annius Vinicianus, and Camillus Scribonianus, the governor of Dalmatia In A D 48, Messalina went so far in her profligacy as publicly to solemnise her marriage with C Silius, a handsome young Roman eques This was more than Claudius could brook, and he accordingly ordered her to be put to death Through the intrigues of his freedmen he was now induced to marry his niece Agrippina, a daughter of Germanicus, a choice worse, if possible, than any of the former ones Agrippina and Pallas prevailed upon him to set aside his own son Britannicus by Messalina, and to adopt Nero, Agrippina's son by Cn Domitius Ahenobarbus, in order to insure to Nero the succession to the sovereignty The philosopher Lucius Annaeus Seneca, who had been exiled was now recalled to educate Nero, and to prepare him for his high station In order to secure the praetorian cohorts, Agrippina caused their prefect, who was favourably disposed towards the children of Messalina, to be removed, and got Burrus Afranius appointed in his stead Burrus, who was initiated in her plans and was a man of great talent, undertook, with Seneca the training of young Nero At length when Claudius saw through these intrigues and openly expressed his dissatisfaction, Agrippina hastened to secure the succession to her son by the murder of her husband Locusta, a woman well skilled in preparing poisons, was hired by her to prepare a poisoned dish of mushrooms, of which the emperor was very fond, but as it produced only vomiting, the physician Xenophon, under the pretext of attempting to ease the vomiting, put a quill dipped in poison down the throat of Claudius, which caused his death on the 13th of October, A D 54

The government of Claudius, in so far as he was not under the influence of his wives and freedmen, was mild and popular, and he made several useful legislative enactments. Besides his literary occupations, he was extremely fond of building; and several architectural plans, which had been devised by his predecessors but abandoned as impracticable, were carried out by him. He thus constructed the celebrated Claudian aqueduct (*aqua Claudia*), formed a new fort with a lighthouse at Ostia, and conducted the waters of lake Fucinus, by means of a tunnel, into the river Liris. With regard to his literary productions, we have great reason to regret the loss of these works, though none of them may have had much merit as literary compositions; but he wrote in so honest and straight-forward a spirit that he was censured for it by his own relatives. He composed a history of his own time, memoirs of his life, and wrote in the Greek language the histories of Carthage and of Etruria.

During his reign several wars were carried on in Britain, Germany, Syria, and Mauritania. The disputes respecting the succession in Parthia and Armenia after the death of Artabanus, being artificially fed by the Romans, led to the Parthian wars, which broke out in A.D. 30, and were carried on under Claudius and Nero, the Parthians endeavouring, by all means, to make themselves masters of Armenia. In Germany the war was continued from the beginning of Claudius' reign against the Chauci and Marsians, who were severally defeated by the Roman legates. After the death of Arminius quarrels also broke out among the Cheruscans and other tribes, of which the Romans made the most advantageous use, and in which the noblest German families perished. As Italicus, a son of Arminius' brother Flavius, the only person of the kingly family still surviving, lived at Rome, the Cheruscans, in A.D. 47 applied to Claudius for a king, and he generously sent them Italicus, reminding him of his duties towards his own country and people. Italicus gained considerable popularity, but a discontented faction compelled him to take to flight: he was restored by the aid of the Longobardi,

but still the state of the Cheruscans was violently shaken by these commotions In the same year Domitius Corbulo was successful in the north west of Germany he subdued the Frisians and was on the point of making an invasion into the interior of the country when Claudius ordered him to withdraw his garrisons from the eastern banks of the Rhine Corbulo accordingly confined himself to the defence of the left bank, and employed his soldiers in cutting a canal to connect the Meuse and the Rhine in the neighbourhood of Dusseldorf In A D 50 the capital of the Ubii in which Agrippina had been born was raised by Claudius to the rank of a colony under the name of Colonia Agrippina (Cologne) it remained henceforth the chief town in lower Germany and Castra Vetera sank into insignificance

In A D 42 the Mauritanians who had revolted the year before were subdued by the legate Cn Hosidius and their country was constituted a Roman province being divided into two parts the one called Tingitana and the other Caesariensis each being governed by a Roman eques No Roman army had entered Britain since the days of Julius Caesar but a noble Britain of the name of Bericus who had been expelled by his countrymen prevailed upon Claudius to undertake the conquest of the island and accordingly in A D 43 a Roman army, under the command of A Plautius Silvanus invaded Britain Claudius himself followed soon after but not being of a warlike disposition and having obtained an opportunity of celebrating a triumph he returned His legate however defeated the Britons on the river Thames and took their town of Camalodunum The war continued for nine years during which Vespasian (afterwards emperor) who commanded one legion and was accompanied by his son Titus made such progress that he is said to have fought thirty battles taken possession of the Isle of Wight subdued several tribes and occupied twenty towns Caractacus a chief of the tribe of the Silures and the valiant defender of British liberty made the greatest efforts to repel the enemy but he was overcome by the superior skill of the Romans his wife and daughters fell into

the hands of the conquerors, and his brothers surrendered. He then sought the protection of Cartismandua, queen of the Brigantes, but she betrayed him, and delivered him up to the Romans, in A D 51 The British chief and his family were carried to Rome and exhibited there in sort of triumph, but Caractacus showed so noble and intrepid a conduct, that Claudius was induced to pardon him and his friends The south-eastern part of Britain was now constituted a Roman province

In the beginning of his reign Claudius restored Agrippa to his grandfather's kingdom of Judaea and Samaria, but after Agrippa's death, in A.D 44, the administration of the country was again entrusted to Roman governors whose acts of oppression drove the people to repeated insurrections, which at last ended in the destruction of Jerusalem.

CHAPTER XLIV

NERO.—SERV. SULPICIUS GALBA.—SALVIUS OTHO.—A. VITELLIUS.

AFTER the murder of Claudius, Agrippina, for a while, kept his death a secret, but all at once the gates of the palace were thrown open, and her son Nero was presented by Burrus to the prætorian guards as their master. On being carried to the prætorian camp, and promising the soldiers rich donations, Nero was proclaimed emperor. The senate confirmed the decision, and the people quietly submitted. Nero was born at Antium, on the 15th December, A. D. 37, and was now only seventeen years old. He was naturally not devoid of talent and taste, but he had been brought up at a voluptuous court, and in the midst of intrigues, by his mother, a woman full of malice and ambition, he had been trained by Seneca and Burrus, two men anxious to obtain the favour of the court and to accumulate wealth, and he found himself, on his accession, surrounded by a servile people, flattered by the senate and a host of friends who were ready to applaud every folly and every crime, or at least to excuse any thing he might choose to do. Under such circumstances the beginning of his reign was not worse than might have been anticipated, and if his inclination to debauchery and his vanity had been checked at a proper time, his reign might have been happier. The first five years of it, in fact, formed so striking a contrast with the remaining period, that in later times the *quinquennium* of Nero was looked upon as one of the most prosperous periods of the empire. During that time Nero reduced the taxes of the provinces, counteracted the love of luxuries, and raised the authority of the senate, while Seneca and

Burrus endeavoured to suppress any dangerous outbreak of his passions, but his ambitious and domineering mother wished to govern, and in some instances actually did so in her son's name and as Burrus and Seneca opposed her designs it became manifest that the struggle must end in the destruction either of Agrippina or her opponents. The jealousy between Agrippina and her son soon broke out into an open quarrel, and she threatened to support the claims of Britannicus the son of Claudius and to raise him to the throne. Nero's fears now drove him to commit a crime which at once revealed his real character. He ordered Britannicus, a boy of scarcely fourteen years old, to be poisoned at an entertainment, at which Agrippina herself and Nero's wife Octavia, the virtuous daughter of Claudius and Messalina, were present. His associates, his amours with Acte a freedwoman, his lascivious and dissolute habits, and his excessive fondness for theatrical amusements henceforth corrupted him more and more. He had never loved his wife Octavia, and his aversion to her increased from the moment he became acquainted with the beautiful but dissolute Poppæa Sabina, the wife of his friend Salvius Otho who connived at her conduct and was easily got out of the way by being made governor of Lusitania in Spain, A.D. 58. Nero's passion for this woman was probably the cause of his murdering his mother, for Poppæa Sabina wanted to marry him and as Agrippina was an insurmountable obstacle to this scheme, she prevailed upon him to get rid of her. A plan for this purpose was devised by Anicetus the commander of the fleet at Misenum. Agrippina, under pretence of a reconciliation with Nero was invited to come to Baiæ, and when she arrived she was put on board a boat, which was constructed in such a manner as to fall to pieces at a certain distance from the coast. But Agrippina saved herself by swimming, and went to her villa on the Lucrine lake where she was assassinated by Nero's command, and with the approbation of Burrus and Seneca. The base and servile senate even degraded itself by congratulating the matricide on the accomplishment of his feat. Nero was soon after seized

with bitter remorse, but he drowned all his better feelings by fresh riots and the most extravagant debauchery, and the flatteries of the senate helped him to forget his crime

One of his favourite occupations was chariot driving, but his ambition was to get credit as a musician, an actor, and a poet After the death of Burrus, probably by poison, and the withdrawal of Seneca in A D 62, Nero began to feel more at liberty he banished his wife Octavia to the island of Pandataria, where she was soon after murdered, and then married the adulteress Poppaea Sabina Tigellinus, a most licentious and unprincipled person, being appointed prefect of the praetorian cohorts, as the successor of Burrus, contrived to gain the full confidence of the despot In A D 64, a dreadful conflagration broke out at Rome, which lasted for six days, and in which by far the greater part of the city and its monuments became a prey of the flames it was believed that this destruction was the work of Nero, who wanted to see a vivid representation of the burning of Troy This belief may have originated in a piece of scandal, without any foundation the emperor, however, threw all the odium upon the yet obscure sect of the Christians, against whom he instituted a cruel persecution Soon after the conflagration he set about re-building the city on an improved plan, and with wider and more regular streets The means for carrying out this undertaking were obtained by oppression extortion and robbery His own palace called the golden house, was built on a scale of magnitude, and with a splendour which surpass all belief The idle populace were kept in good humour by being fed and amused with the spoils of the provinces, which were plundered to such an extent that the empire was brought to the verge of dissolution

In A D 65, Nero's tyranny led to the organisation of a formidable conspiracy against him, which was headed by L Calpurnius Piso, but it was discovered and betrayed by a freedman, Milichus and the discovery was followed by a number of executions Piso, the poet Lucan, and many others, were put to death, and

Seneca who was suspected of being an accomplice, had the favour of being allowed to die by opening his veins. After this followed the death of Poppæa Sabina she was with child, and in a fit of brutal passion Nero kicked her, the consequence of which was fatal. He now wanted to marry Antonia, a daughter of Claudius, but as she declined the honour she was put to death and he then married Statilia Messalina, with whom he had before kept up an adulterous intercourse, and whose husband he had killed. Virtue, in whatever form she appeared, was an object of the tyrant's fear and hatred, to which many of the noblest and most respected persons fell a sacrifice. In A.D. 66 Tiridates king of Armenia, came to Rome to receive his crown from the hands of Nero, and the year after this solemnity, Nero went to Greece to take part as a cithara player in the great games at Olympia and on the Isthmus. At the Isthmian games he proclaimed the freedom of Greece, but the country had to pay dearly for this visit of the sovereign for towns and temples were plundered, and the price of provisions rose to an enormous height. A singer whose voice was louder than that of the emperor, was put to death. The aged general Corbulo, one of the few that still deserved the name of a Roman, was summoned in an affectionate letter to come to Greece he arrived, but when he was informed that Nero had given orders to kill him, he anticipated the tyrant by making away with himself. It would be disgusting and tedious to go through the long catalogue of Nero's crimes and follies, and we must refer those who wish to become acquainted with all the detail, to Tacitus Suetonius, and Dion Cassius.

In the autumn of A.D. 67, Nero was recalled from Greece by his freedman Helius, whom he had entrusted with the administration of the city in his absence. On his entering Rome in triumph he exhibited no less than 1808 crowns with which the flattery of the Greeks had honoured him. Not many months after his return, in A.D. 68, an insurrection headed by Julius Vindex broke out in Gaul, in consequence of the grievous oppression to which that country had been subjected. Vindex, who

soon had a large army at his command, offered the sovereignty to Servius Galba, who was governor of Hispania Tarraconensis, and was very popular with the soldiers As Galba learnt at the same time that Nero had sent orders to put him to death, he harangued the soldiers against the tyrant, and was proclaimed emperor, though he assumed only the title of legate of the Roman senate and people Nero was at Naples when he received the news of the commotion in Gaul, but he gave himself little concern about it, when, however, he returned to Rome and was informed of the proclamation of Galba, he was thrown into a violent fit of passion the senate declared Galba a public enemy Verginius Rufus, governor of Upper Germany, being unfavourable to Galba's elevation, marched with an army into Gaul and being supported by a great part of that country laid siege to Vesontio (Besançon) Vindex came to its relief, and the two generals had an interview, at which an amicable arrangement seems to have been made, but by some misunderstanding Vindex was killed whereupon the soldiers proclaimed Verginius Rufus emperor, but he steadily refused to accept the dignity Owing to these circumstances Galba began to lose all hopes, when he received from Rome the unexpected news that the praetorians recognised him as their ruler Nero's ruin was accelerated by a famine which was raging at Rome, and by the exertions which Nero was making to raise the means for attacking his enemies Nymphidius Sabinus, who with Tigellinus was the commander of the praetorian cohorts, availed himself of a report that Nero was going to take refuge in Egypt to induce the praetorians to proclaim Galba. Nero was soon deserted by every body in the night he fled from Rome to the house of Phaon, one of his freedmen, where he spent a whole day in fear and terror, and when his pursuers found him, he, with the help of his secretary Epaphroditus gave himself a mortal wound, of which he expired on the 9th of June A D 68, at the age of 31 With him became extinct the house of the Claudii which had hitherto claimed a sort of right to the imperial dignity, though the

hereditary character of the monarchy had never been legally established. The subsequent rulers and heirs to the throne retained the titles of Augustus and Caesar, but the praetorian guards henceforth assumed the right of electing their sovereign and the sanction of the senate became a mere ceremony. The legions in the distant provinces also began to feel that they might exercise the same prerogative, and frequently raised men to the throne in opposition to those proclaimed by the praetorian guards.

Armenia had fallen into the hands of the Parthians in the beginning of Nero's reign, and in A.D. 54 Domitius Corbulo had been sent there to conduct the war. This able general compelled the Parthian Vologeses to withdraw from the country, and Tiridates, the brother of Vologeses, who had been made king of Armenia, was expelled in A.D. 58. Two years later Corbulo took the towns of Artaxata and Tigranocerta, whereby he became complete master of Armenia, and Nero now conferred the kingly dignity upon Tigranes, whereupon Corbulo withdrew to Syria, leaving behind him some troops to protect the new king. But in A.D. 62 the affairs of Armenia were again troubled. The Parthians invaded the country, with the intention of recovering the throne for Tiridates. Corbulo's successor, L. Caesennius Paetus, being unable to maintain his ground was obliged to evacuate Armenia, and Tiridates again ascended the throne, but under the promise that he himself would go to Rome to obtain the sanction of Nero. This took place in A.D. 66.

In the early part of Nero's reign, affairs were tolerably quiet on the Rhenish frontier. various useful works were executed there to prevent the river overflowing its banks, and L. Vetus formed the grand design of uniting by a canal the Saone and Moselle, which would at once have opened an unbroken line of water communication between the Mediterranean and the German Ocean, but his plan was frustrated by the jealousy of Aelius Gracilis. In Britain, the oppressive yoke of the Romans and their rapacity called forth an alarming insurrection in A.D. 61.

while the governor Suetonius Paulinus was absent on an expedition to the island of Mona for the purpose of destroying that principal seat of the British religion, the people, under their heroic queen Boadicea took up arms one Roman legion was wholly destroyed, and the most important colonies were taken and reduced to ashes Paulinus speedily returned and defeated the insurgents in a great battle in which about 80,000 Britons are said to have fallen Boadicea put an end to her own life, but the Romans were either unable to bring the war to a close, or Petronius Turpilianus, the successor of Paulinus, preferred a peaceful administration to the labours and toils of war At the time when Nero was enjoying his triumphs in Greece the whole nation of the Jews rose in arms against their Roman oppressors, and the proconsul, Cestius Gallus, with his army, was put to flight, whereupon Nero appointed Vespasian, who had already distinguished himself in Britain, to conduct the Jewish war with three legions and made Licinius Mucianus governor of the province of Syria, in A D 67

The extinction of the race of the Claudii was followed by disputes about the succession and by civil wars, since there was no one who had any legal claim to the throne Servius Sulpicius Galba on being informed of his proclamation and recognition by the senate came to Rome accompanied by Salvius Otho, the governor of Lusitania Galba was descended from an ancient noble family, and had been invested with the highest dignities, he had been governor of Aquitania Africa, Upper Germany, and latterly of Hispania Tarraconensis, of which he had conducted the administration for a period of eight years He had been a distinguished general and a man of unblemished character, but he was now at the advanced age of 73, and had come under the influence of his unworthy freedmen The praetorians had been gained over to his interest by the promise of rich donatives, but his avarice, which prompted him to give them with a niggardly hand and his severity in restoring and maintaining discipline among the soldiers, made him extremely unpopular

The arbitrary manner moreover in which he acted under the influence of his three favourite freedmen, T. Vinius, Cornelius Laco and Icelus showed that his reign would not be much better than that of Nero. The legions in Germany and Africa having openly declared their dissatisfaction with him, he forthwith commanded their generals to be put to death, and appointed A. Vitellius, a noble but vulgar and vicious man, to undertake the command of the legions on the Rhine. There can be no doubt, that by his unpopular measures Galba had the real intention of restoring order and discipline, and of doing good service to the empire, but he was blind to the real cause of his unpopularity, attributing it to his old age, and to his having no heir, he adopted Piso Licinianus, a noble young Roman, who was to be his coadjutor and successor. But by this act he only increased his unpopularity, for when he presented his adopted son to the senate, and to the praetorians, he neglected to give the latter the donative customary on such occasions. Salvius Otho, the effeminate and contemptible husband of Poppaea Sabina, having hoped to be adopted himself, in his disappointment formed a conspiracy with the praetorians, over whom he exercised almost unbounded influence. This conspiracy broke out six days after the adoption of Licinianus. Galba, not knowing for some time what to do, at last resolved to meet the rebels, but as he was crossing the forum he was cut down by some horsemen who had been waiting for him. An attack was also made upon the life of Licinianus, but the faithful and courageous centurion, Sempronius Densus warded off the deadly blows. Licinianus then took refuge in the temple of Vesta, from which, however, he was dragged forth and murdered, and many of Galba's friends shared his fate. Galba reigned from June A.D. 68 to January A.D. 69.

Salvius Otho, who had been proclaimed by the praetorians, was now saluted emperor by the servile senate, and through the blood stained streets of the city he proceeded to the Capitol to offer up the customary sacrifice. The praetorians, who now

had an emperor of their own choice, assumed even the exercise of the supreme power, for they appointed their own commander, and gave the office of praefect of the city to Flavius Sabinus, the brother of Vespasian Otho was at this time scarcely able to prevent them from making a general massacre among the senators, who were suspected of being dissatisfied with their choice It seems, however, that soon after, he had so far recovered his power, that he was enabled to distribute rewards and punishments as he thought fit, and some of the criminals who had distinguished themselves in the reign of Nero and had escaped punishment, such as Tigellinus, were put to death In the meantime the legions of the Rhine, which were dissatisfied with Galba's rule, proclaimed on the second of January, A D 69, their own commander, A Vitellius, emperor, and it was in vain that Otho endeavoured by negotiations to prevent the outbreak of a civil war A dreadful struggle now ensued between Otho and Vitellius The latter sent his legates, A Caecina and Fabius Valens, with an army across the Alps, with which they occupied the country between the Alps and the river Po Otho sent his army under the command of his brother Titianus against the enemy he was victorious in several engagements, but lost the decisive battle near Bedriacum, between Verona and Cremona Otho was advised by his friends not to despair, but to await the arrival of the legions from Moesia, but it was all in vain, for a few days after the battle, on the 16th of April, A D 69, he made away with himself at Brixellum, advising his friends to become reconciled to Vitellius

Otho's army now surrendered to Vitellius, a man who was perhaps not of bad disposition, but one of brutal manners and an almost beastly voracity With his legions which on their march indulged in the wildest excesses, Vitellius now came to Rome, where he was recognised by the senate and people He had spent all his life in base vulgarity, and was devoid of mental energy and resolution, squandering his own property no less than that of others upon the soldiers, who were made to believe

that what they received was only their due He connived at every thing they did, and was wholly unconcerned about the affairs of the empire His contemptible conduct soon excited general indignation and the legions of Syria, Judaea, Moesia and Pannonia declared against him Vespasian who was conducting the war against the revolted Jews with great success was urged by Mucianus the governor of Syria, and by Titus, to assume the sovereignty, and during his stay at Alexandria he was proclaimed emperor by Tiberius Alexander the governor of Egypt He forthwith prepared for war against Vitellius leaving *his son Titus to conduct the siege of Jerusalem. Antonius* Primus the commander of the legions on the Danube and a staunch supporter of Vespasian without waiting for the new sovereign s commands marched with his army into Italy In the neighbourhood of Bedriacum he met the army of Vitellius who himself remained at Rome unable to make up his mind what course to pursue Antonius Primus, though his forces were far inferior in number to those of his enemy, gained a decisive victory, and the town of Cremona was plundered and reduced to ashes He then slowly advanced towards Rome, and all the towns on his way surrendered Vitellius was abandoned by all except the praetorians and the populace of Rome. Flavius Sabinus, Vespasian s brother was compelled to take refuge in the Capitol When the hostile army arrived a frightful massacre took place in the city the Vitellians stormed the Capitol and murdered Sabinus and the Capitoline temple was destroyed by fire But the praetorian camp being taken by Antonius Primus Vitellius was dragged forth from his palace and murdered in a brutal manner, on the 20th of December A D 69 after a reign of scarcely eight months All this happened at Rome in the absence of Vespasian, who still continued his stay at Alexandria the affairs of Rome were regulated by Mucianus and Vespasian's son Domitian

CHAPTER XLV.

T. FLAVIUS VESPASIANUS.—TITUS.—T. FLAVIUS DOMITIANUS.

VESPASIAN, who now ascended the throne as the first of the Flavian family, was the true restorer of the state; and, with all his faults, he was the very person that Rome required. He was a man of humble origin, active, industrious, and simple in his habits: he was also an able general, and had risen without any one being able to charge him with extortion or rapacity in the provinces where he had been employed, a circumstance which is the more remarkable as he is said to have been fond of money. He enjoyed the esteem of all the soldiers. He did not arrive at Rome until the end of the summer A.D. 70, when he found the praetorians subdued by the influence of Mucianus. Domitian, who in the mean time exercised the imperial power in his father's name, had committed several acts of tyranny and cruelty in taking vengeance on his personal enemies, and had given proofs of what Rome might expect from him should he ever come to the throne. Although Vespasian had been chosen by the armies, he yet like his predecessors received the imperium from the senate. He at once set about restoring discipline, excluded unworthy persons from the senate, deprived several equites of their rank, and raised the most illustrious men from the provinces, as well as from Italy, to the places which had thus become vacant. By this measure Rome virtually ceased to be the exclusive mistress of the world, inasmuch as distinguished provincials also obtained a share in the government. He further watched over the proper administration of justice, suppressed the odious class of denouncers, stopped the trials for high-treason against the person of the sovereign,

and, above all, put an end to the profligacy of the higher classes His economy in the management of the finances often approached to parsimony, but the state at that period required large sums for its maintenance, and for the preservation of its security on the frontiers, at the same time however, he was liberal whenever the public good required it In order to increase the revenues he restored several countries to their former condition of provinces, which had been declared free by Nero and also restored or increased tolls and taxes He must have spent enormous sums upon the rebuilding of the Capitoline temple, the construction of the gigantic amphitheatre or Colosseum, which even in its ruins excites the wonder and admiration of the beholder, and the building of the Temple of Peace and the public library He was the first who appointed public teachers of rhetoric, with an annual salary of 100 sesterces In private life he was very condescending fond of wit and cheerful company, and his example together with several enactments which he made against the disgusting habits of the wealthy Romans produced a great change in their mode of of living what he was deficient in were the feelings of a gentleman, and of a person of education he himself aspired to no intellectual distinction and had a singular dislike to all persons who were any thing beyond what may be called practical men. Hence arose his aversion to philosophers more especially to the Stoics, who with their republican sentiments and unreserved expression of opinion seemed to him little better than revolutionists It was in consequence of this feeling that Helvidius Priscus the son in law of the noble Paetus Thrasea, who from the first had indulged in vehement invectives against the emperor was put to death in A D 74 though contrary to the will of Vespasian in the same year all Stoic and Cynic philosophers were expelled from Rome.

The first year of Vespasian's reign is remarkable for the capture of Jerusalem by his son Titus It was defended by a triple wall, and by a host of 600 000 men, but owing to the

party spirit prevailing in the city, it fell into the hands of the Romans on the 2nd of September, A D 70 upwards of a million of Jews are said to have perished, and their city was destroyed The Jews being forbidden to re build it, lost their independence for ever they were scattered over the whole of the Roman empire, and every one of them had to pay an annual tax of two drachmae Out of the money thus raised, the Capitoline temple was restored the arch which was erected at Rome, to commemorate the victory of Titus over the Jews, still exists, and bears witness to that memorable event

Before Vespasian's arrival at Rome, a formidable insurrection, headed by Claudius Civilis, broke out in the country of the Batavi between the rivers Meuse and Waal The Batavi were joined by German tribes, and their example was followed by the Lingones and Treviri, under their leaders Classicus and Julius Tutor They even compelled a Roman legion in Gaul to declare itself in favour of the independence of Gaul The period of anarchy at Rome had been well chosen by the insurgents, but the accession of Vespasian, and the energetic measures which he took, deprived them of this advantage Petilius Cerialis was sent against the rebels, and after several engagements, in which he fought bravely, he first subdued the Treviri, and then compelled Civilis, after a two fold defeat, to sue for peace The Batavi now submitted to Rome, and henceforth were obliged to pay their tribute as before

In the year following, A D 71, Cerialis obtained the administration of Britain he was accompanied there by Cn Julius Agricola, the son in law of the historian Tacitus, who had, as legate, the command of one legion Disturbances had taken place among the Brigantes, but they were soon subdued In A D 77, Agricola himself obtained the administration of Britain, which he retained until A D 85 During that period he not only conquered all England, but the south of Scotland as far as the Firth of Clyde and the Firth of Forth He carried his victories even into the Highlands of Scotland, though without

permanently subjecting the country to Rome His administration of Britain was less disturbed by insurrection than that of his predecessors, for by the prudence, fairness, and justice of his measures, he not only conciliated the Britons, but rendered the Roman dominion endurable by them

There can be no doubt that the reign of Vespasian was thoroughly beneficial to the Roman world, and though he committed some acts which can scarcely be excused, still his conduct on the whole was as good as can be expected from a great man in the time in which he lived He had been first married to Flavia Domitilla, by whom he had three children, Titus, Domitian, and Domitilla she died before the accession of her husband who from that time lived in a marriage of conscience with Caenis, a woman of low birth, but of good character Towards the end of his reign a conspiracy was formed against his life by A. Caecina and Epirus Marcellus but it was discovered, and the principals of it were put to death Soon after, Vespasian was taken ill at his villa near Cutiliae, in the country of the Sabines, where he used to spend the summer season and on the 23rd of June, A D 79, he died at the age of seventy

Immediately after his accession, Vespasian had conferred the title of Caesar upon his son Titus, whom he destined to become his successor During the latter period of his life the government had been in reality in the hands of Titus, and the manner in which he had conducted himself created considerable apprehensions, turning the public opinion much against him for the many acts of cruelty which he committed But after his accession a change took place in his character its prevailing features during his short reign were kindness and benevolence, and these features, which are always most highly prized in a ruler, secured him the attachment of the people to such a degree, that he was called the love and delight of mankind, (*amor et deliciae generis humani*) This attachment was increased in proportion as the people had reason to dread his brother Domitian. The reign of Titus, though short, offered him

ample opportunity for showing his kindly disposition In the month of August, A D 79, there occurred a fearful eruption of Mount Vesuvius, accompanied by a violent earthquake, during which three towns situated on the Bay of Naples were destroyed, Herculaneum and Stabiae being buried under the ashes which were thrown out by the volcano, and Pompeii under streams of burning lava To relieve the unfortunate people who had escaped from the catastrophe and lost their homes, Titus is said to have given away almost all his property Portions of these towns have been disentombed in modern times, and are, to us, the most precious repositories of ancient art and life they give us a clearer insight into the construction of ancient houses and towns than any other remains of antiquity In the year following an immense fire broke out at Rome, which raged for three days, and in which the best parts of the city, including the Campus Martius and the Capitoline temple, were destroyed, and no sooner had this calamity passed away, than a vehement pestilence began to rage, which carried off numbers of people both at Rome and in Italy In A D 81 Titus celebrated the inauguration of the Colosseum, which had been begun by his father, and of the magnificent Thermae which he himself had built with most splendid games and amusements After these solemnities he went to the country of the Sabines and on the 13th of September, A D 81, he died in the same villa in which his father had breathed his last Common report said that his death had been caused by his brother Domitian and all the people mourned as over the death of a father As far as foreign countries are concerned the reign of Titus was perfectly quiet, and with the exception of the above-mentioned calamities, Rome enjoyed peace and comfort Agricola was in the mean time pursuing his victorious career in Britain, where he penetrated as far as the river Tay, and fortified the frontiers between the Clyde and Forth

Titus was succeeded by his brother Domitian who was as unlike him as possible he is said to have made several attempts

to kill not only his brother, but even his father His character had become manifest during the short period between his father's proclamation and his arrival in Italy, even at that time he lived in a sort of eastern harem, in which he gratified his lusts His father, who knew his disposition, kept him away from public affairs as much as possible, and this example was followed by Titus, who, however, always showed him great confidence and forbearance During the reign of his two predecessors, Domitian occupied himself with poetical and other literary compositions, but his nature was not ennobled by these pursuits He was proclaimed emperor by the soldiers on the day of his brother's death, and during the first years of his reign things went on pretty well, for he showed a sort of mixture of vice and virtue he kept a strict superintendence over the provinces, and made some useful legal enactments He forbade, for example, the castration of male children, and restricted the excessive cultivation of the vine, whereby the growth of corn had been neglected He also took an active part in the administration of justice, but in his later years he turned this very practice into an instrument of tyranny, for assisted by a host of denouncers he made justice an instrument of the most brutal cruelty and tyranny that ever disgraced a sovereign's throne The cause of this change in his conduct, independent of his natural bias for every thing bad, appears to have been his boundless ambition, wounded pride, jealousy of others and a fear and cowardice which were awakened and roused by the failure of his undertakings and the busy zeal of denouncers In order to gain the favour of the soldiers he raised their pay, while the favour of the populace was gained by games and donations, but to obtain the means necessary for these things he had recourse to confiscations and wealthy persons were denounced as guilty of high treason for no other purpose than that the emperor might become possessed of their property

In A D 84, Domitian undertook an expedition against the Chatti, which seems to have been crowned with some success,

since he constructed the frontier wall between the free Germans and those subject to Rome Upon this he celebrated a triumph and assumed the name of Germanicus which appears on some of his coins In the same year, Agricola, at the foot of the Grampians (*Mons Grampius*) gained a glorious victory over the Caledonians who were commanded by their chief Galgacus he also sent out an exploring expedition to examine the yet unknown coasts of Scotland, but when he was upon the point of subduing the whole country, he was recalled by Domitian whose jealousy could not bear to see his success Agricola returned to Rome, and spent the remaining eight years of his life in retirement, in order not to attract the tyrant's attention

In A D 86, the warlike nation of the Dacians under their king Decebalus crossed over to the southern bank of the Danube and defeated Ap Sabinus, the legate of Moesia Domitian himself took the field against the enemy, but he left the real management of the war to his legates, while he reposing within a neighbouring town in Moesia, ascribed all the victories to himself, and the reverses to his generals On the whole the Romans were unsuccessful against their enemy The Quadi and Marcomanni, who were bound by treaties to support the Romans having refused to do so, Domitian in A D 90 marched against them but he was defeated by them also and the consequence was that he was obliged to conclude a humiliating peace with Decebalus Still on his return to Rome he did not blush to celebrate a triumph over the Dacians and to assume the surname of Dacicus In the following year, L Antonius, the commander of two legions in Upper Germany, rose against Domitian the insurrection might have been fatal had not the storm been averted by a sudden overflow of the Rhine, which prevented the German auxiliaries whom Antonius expected from joining him and left the rebel an easy conquest to L Appius Norbanus

By the vain attempts which he made to deceive others Domitian could not deceive himself and his mortification at being defeated by the Dacians made him still more ferocious and

rapacious than he had been before he ordered himself to be called Lord and God (*Dominus et Deus*) and caused himself to be worshipped with divine honours The senate in its abject servility condemned the noblest and worthiest persons to death thus Arulenus Rusticus was killed because in one of his works he had praised Paetus Thrasea and Herennius Senecio for having *mentioned with approbation the conduct of Helvidius Priscus* All philosophers and among them the noble Epictetus were expelled from Rome and the Christians whose number was then considerable at Rome and who counted some persons of high distinction among them were likewise persecuted and murdered in great numbers. The time was so fearful, that no man ventured to express his real thoughts having always to dread some secret denouncer But the tyrant's own cruelty and excesses brought about his ruin He had resolved to put to death his wife Domitia, and some of the officers of his court but they received secret information of his intention and formed a plot against him A freedman was gained over by the conspirators who was to gain access to his bedroom and there to present a letter to him. The plan succeeded, and while Domitian was reading the letter the freedman plunged a dagger into his belly A violent scuffle ensued until the other conspirators entered. The tyrant fell after receiving seven wounds on the 18th of September A D 96 The senate soon after passed a decree to efface his name from all public monuments while the soldiers who were still attached to him attempted to proclaim him a god.

CHAPTER XLVI

M COCCEIUS NERVA —M ULPIUS TRAJANUS.—P AELIUS HADRIANUS.

HITHERTO the emperors had always been Romans, or at least natives of Italy, but after the time of Domitian we frequently find foreigners as Spaniards Illyrians Pannonians, and even Orientals and Africans clothed with the imperial purple After such terrific times as those of Caligula, Nero, and Domitian, the Roman world must have yearned for better days, and its longing was not in vain for there now followed a series of five rulers whose reigns form the happiest period in the history of the Roman empire

M Cocceius Nerva, a venerable senator of the age of 64 was proclaimed emperor by the people and soldiers immediately after the murder of Domitian He was a native of the town of Narnia in Umbria, and enjoyed the respect of all classes The praetorian guards acquiesced in his proclamation though he was not a man after their taste Nerva, who for this reason was obliged to be very cautious punished only a few of those who had made themselves notorious under his predecessor He stopped the trials for high treason recalled many persons from exile, and diminished the oppressive taxes But the praetorians under their commander Casperius Aelianus began to mutiny and in defiance of the emperor they not only put the murderers of Domitian to death but compelled him publicly to express his approval of their execution Nerva felt the humiliation keenly and in order to strengthen his power, he adopted M Ulpius Trajan a man of unblemished character and a distinguished general who was then commanding the legions in Lower Germany Only three

months after this adoption Nerva himself died of a fever on the 27th of January, A D 98 The object of his short reign was to combine two most opposite things, political freedom and the sovereign power of the monarch His care was also directed towards raising the populace from the degradation in which they were living, for which purpose he purchased and distributed lands among the poor

Trajan was the first Roman emperor who was not a native of Italy, having been born in the Spanish town of Italica, on the Guadalquivir not far from Seville After his adoption he quietly entered upon his new dignity at Cologne, and then set out for Rome As he entered the city on foot, in A D 99, with a small retinue, he was received with enthusiastic applause, for his noble figure, his kindliness and condescension, at once gained him the affection of the people The very first year of his reign was marked by noble acts after taking possession of the sovereign power, he punished the principal denouncers, and banished many of them to the barren islands round Italy The most turbulent among the praetorians were likewise taken to account By these and similar measures, he strengthened and secured his power The same year is also marked by an institution which may be regarded as the first effort towards a public system of education at Rome inasmuch as he made a foundation upon which freeborn, but poor boys and girls were to be educated Trajan in all his actions appears as one of the noblest and ablest rulers that Rome ever possessed although he was not free from weaknesses, still he deserves the name of best, more than any of his predecessors, and for more than two centuries after, the senate used to hold out, to the newly-elected emperors, Trajan as a model of goodness He possessed and practised all the virtues which adorn a ruler, a general, and a man he was great in his designs, and persevering in their execution, skilful in the art of war, fair in the administration of justice simple and unassuming in his manners, affable to every citizen and a faithful friend he was equally anxious for the welfare of the pro-

vinces as for that of Italy, economical in his private life, but liberal and generous in all matters calculated for public use or ornament A man with such virtues may fairly claim our indulgence for certain weaknesses which are censured in him by Roman historians Rome, Italy, and the provinces, were under him adorned with magnificent buildings, bridges, roads, and useful institutions, such as the Ulpian library at Rome (*Bibliotheca Ulpia*) The senate was allowed to conduct its deliberations with perfect freedom the people again assembled in their comitia, and the magistrates were unshackled in the discharge of their duties Trajan himself submitted to the laws like every other citizen, but at the same time he understood the art of governing a nation better than any of his predecessors He was married to Plotina, a woman of high character, but he had no children by her She, and his own sister Marcina, are among the most estimable women in Roman history the great improvement which, from that time forward, is perceptible in the conduct of Roman ladies of rank, was undoubtedly the result of their example and of the influence they exercised

Trajan, who before his accession had distinguished himself as a general, now directed his attention principally to war and great architectural works His first war was that against the Dacians, for he deeply felt the disgrace of paying them the tribute with which Domitian had purchased their peace Trajan accordingly refused to pay it, and at the end of A D 100 he marched with an army of 60,000 men into the country of the Dacians, who were still governed by their warlike prince Decebalus Trajan took his capital of Zarmizegethusa, and after having defeated the king in several battles compelled him to sue for peace which was granted to him in A D 102, on condition of his giving up a part of his territory The emperor then returned to Rome, and obtained from the senate the surname of Dacicus But in A D 104 the Dacians again rose against the Romans to facilitate his campaign against them, Trajan caused a stone bridge to be constructed across the Danube, in the neighbourhood of the

modern town of Arnetz in Hungary and in the following year he marched into Dacia. Decebalus was so hard pressed by the invader and his able legates Lucius Quietus and Hadrian that in despair he made away with himself whereupon Dacia (the modern countries of Moldavia Wallachia and Transylvania) was constituted a Roman province and received several Roman colonies, which secured the dominion and spread the manners and civilization of Rome among the barbarians Trajan now celebrated a second triumph over Dacia, and caused a column to be made recording his victory and representing in relief his exploits in Dacia. This column about 150 feet high, the celebrated Columna Trajana, was erected in A D 114 in the forum built by Trajan and is still one of the most remarkable monuments of Rome

In the year in which Dacia was made a Roman province Cornelius Palma the legate of Syria, subdued the whole of Arabia Petraea. There now followed a few years during which the empire enjoyed a profound peace until in A D 114 the Parthians again began to threaten the eastern frontier Chosroes their king expelled Exedares king of Armenia from his dominion and raised his own brother Parthamasiris to the throne When the emperor arrived in Armenia he received the homage of the people, and made Armenia a Roman province Abgarus king of Osrhoene, submitted to him and after the capture of the town of Nisibis the whole of Mesopotamia recognised the supremacy of Rome Trajan spent the following winter at Antioch during his stay there that city and the whole of Syria were shaken by a severe earthquake In the next spring he crossed the Tigris subdued Assyria, and thence proceeded to Seleucia and Ctesiphon the capital of the Parthians who seem to have been prevented by internal feuds from offering a resolute resistance to the invader After the conquest of Parthia, Trajan sailed with a fleet down the Tigris into the ocean (the Persian Gulf) but an insurrection of the conquered nations obliged him to return His legates however succeeded in repressing the revolt and destroyed

the towns of Nisibis, Edessa, and Seleucia. Trajan raised Parthamaspates to the throne of Parthia. In the spring of A. D. 117, he entered the southern part of Arabia, and while he was besieging the town of Hatra he was taken ill: intrusting the conduct of the war to Hadrian, who had accompanied him on his eastern expedition, he hastened to return to Rome; but on his way thither he died at Selinus, in Cilicia, on the 9th of August, A.D. 117. His remains were afterwards carried to Rome in a golden urn, and deposited in his own forum under the column recording his Dacian victories.

Trajan seems to have made no provision for determining the succession: there were indeed reports that he had intended to make Neratius Priscus his successor, or that in his illness he had adopted Hadrian; but the latter report seems to have been the work of Plotina, who, by a well-meant forgery, wished to make the world believe that her husband had adopted him. For this reason she concealed for a few days the death of Trajan, whereby she gained time to communicate with Hadrian, who was then with his army at Antioch, and to publish the false document of her husband's will with some appearance of probability. Hadrian accordingly entered upon the government, on the 11th of August, A D 117, at Antioch, where he was proclaimed emperor, and the Roman senate, to which he addressed a letter, readily recognised him. Hadrian was descended from a family of Hadria, in Picenum his father was married to an aunt of Trajan, who himself was appointed one of his guardians on his father's death. Through Plotina's influence, who was very partial to him, he married Julia Sabina, a grand-daughter of Trajan's sister Marcina, from which time he daily rose in the emperor's favour.

On his accession the Roman empire was in a perilous condition the Parthians, who had just been conquered by Trajan, revolted, and were successful in several engagements, Moesia was harassed by an invasion of the Sarmatae and Roxolani, and other provinces also were in a state of insurrection. Hadrian

now showed his wisdom by giving up the recent conquests in the east, which it would have been impossible or at least extremely difficult to maintain He accordingly renounced all the conquests east of the Euphrates restored Assyria and Mesopotamia to the Parthians and recognised Chosroes as their king Parthamaspates was indemnified by a small neighbouring principality, and Armenia restored to the rank of an independent kingdom Having thus settled the affairs of the east, Hadrian, in A D 118, returned to Rome, from whence he shortly after set out with his army for Moesia Here again his object was not conquest, but merely to secure the Roman possessions, and he accordingly concluded a peace with the Roxolani for which he had probably to pay a heavy sum As he was proceeding against the Sarmatae, he received intelligence of a conspiracy which had been formed by his personal enemies, Nigrinus, Lucius Quietus, Palma, Celsus, and other persons of high rank. After the discovery of the plot, the four leaders were put to death by command of the emperor himself according to the general opinion, though he was most anxious to deny the fact The belief that he had ordered their execution roused public feeling against him and, apprehending an outbreak at Rome, he left the command of the armies in Pannonia and Dacia in the hands of Marcius Turbo one of his generals, who had just suppressed a rebellion in Mauritania, and returned to Italy, where he endeavoured to obliterate the prevailing suspicion by liberal donations games, and gladiatorial exhibitions One act, which was sure to win him the favour of the people was his cancelling an enormous sum of money due to the state as taxes, namely all the arrears of the last fifteen years He further courted the favour of the senate, and promised never to punish a senator without its sanction at the same time he found it advisable to remove his former friends from their office of prefects of the praetorians He divided Italy into four regions for the purpose of better jurisdiction a consular being placed at the head of each region, the offices of the palace, the army, and in the administration of

the state, were regulated according to a new system, which, on the whole, remained unchanged until the time of Constantine the Great

The war against the Sarmatae was in the mean time continued by his legates, and seems to have lasted for several years In A D 119 he began his memorable journey through all the provinces of his empire, many of which he traversed on foot It was undertaken from a desire to promote the happiness of his subjects by personal inspection of the manner in which the administration was carried on, and to remedy evils wherever they occurred, though there can be no doubt that his own curiosity, and a singular restlessness of his mind, also had a share in determining him to enter upon the undertaking These travels occupied the greater part of his reign He first visited Gaul and Germany, whence he proceeded, in A D 121, to Britain There he secured the northern part of England against the invasions of the Scots, by a wall of 80,000 paces in length, extending from the mouth of the Tyne to the Solway Remains of this wall are known to this day, under the name of the Picts wall On his return to Gaul he adorned the town of Nemausus (Nismes) with splendid buildings and then went to Spain, where he spent the winter In A D 122, he returned to Rome, but soon after set out for Achaia, and the provinces of the east At Athens he appears to have remained for three years it was his favourite place, and he honoured it above all other cities in the empire After a visit to Sicily, he again returned to Rome In A D 129, he visited Africa, and thence proceeded to the east he again made a long stay at Athens, to see the completion of the numerous and magnificent buildings which had been commenced during his former visit During his progress in Asia he examined with great strictness into the conduct of the governors of the provinces and did all he could to conciliate the princes of the neighbouring kingdoms From Asia he proceeded through Syria into Egypt, where he restored the tomb of Pompey with great splendour During his stay in Egypt, his favourite, Antinous, a Bithynian

youth, for whom he entertained an unnatural affection, was drowned in the Nile his death was to Hadrian the cause of deep and lasting grief From Egypt he returned to Rome, where, in A D 131, he promulgated a collection of laws under the title *Edictum Perpetuum*, which had been drawn up by the jurist Salvius Julianus

Not long after the emperor's return to Rome a formidable insurrection broke out among the Jews living in Syria A colony of the name of Aelia Capitolina had been established on the site of Jerusalem, and pagan worship had been introduced there, and Hadrian, moreover, had issued an edict forbidding the Jews the rite of circumcision. These things were more than the Jews could bear, and, under their leader, Barcochab, they rose in arms with the most desperate fury The war lasted for several years and in it 580,000 Jews are said to have perished It was not brought to a close until Julius Severus came over from Britain, and finally succeeded in paralysing or annihilating the Jews, who were henceforth forbidden to live at Jerusalem, or in its immediate vicinity Numbers of them were sold into slavery, and the great scattering of the nation dates from this time After the Jewish war, another threatened to break out in the east with the Albanians, but Hadrian averted the danger by sending rich presents to the Albanians, and to Pharasmanes, king of the Iberians who had stirred up the Albanians, and whose feelings by this means became so changed that he even paid a visit to Hadrian at Rome

After his return from his travels until his death, Hadrian spent his time partly at Rome and partly at Tibur, where he built a magnificent villa on so grand a scale that even its ruins occupy the space of a considerable town The many fatigues and hardships he had undergone had so impaired his health that in A D 133 he was seized with a dangerous illness, which proved to be dropsy, and this led him to think of a successor Having himself no children, he adopted L Ceionius Commodus, under the name of L Aelius Verus, a noble and handsome youth,

but of an effeminate character the young man, however, did not prove to be of that assistance to the emperor which had been expected, and being of a weakly disposition, he died on the first day of the year A D 138 Hadrian now adopted Arrius Antoninus (afterwards the emperor Antoninus Pius) and presented him to the senators, assembled around his bed, as his successor at the same time he obliged Antoninus to adopt the son of Aelius Verus, L Commodus Verus, and M Annius Verus (afterwards the emperor M Aurelius) These arrangements, however, did not restore peace to his mind Some of his most worthy friends, who had opposed the adoption of L Aelius Verus, were put to death, and his illness made him daily more suspicious and cruel many persons of rank were executed, and many more would have fallen victims, had it not been for the precautions taken by Antoninus At last, when Hadrian found that his illness was incurable, he requested a slave to run him through with a sword this, however, was prevented by Antoninus Several more attempts were made at suicide, but with no success At length he was removed to Baiae, where he hoped to find at least some relief, but he soon after died on the 10th of July, A D 138, at the age of sixty three He was buried in the villa of Cicero, near Puteoli The senate, indignant at the many acts of cruelty which Hadrian had committed during the last three years of his life, wished to annul his enactments, and refused him the customary divine honours, but Antoninus prevailed upon them to be lenient towards him, on the ground that during his illness, he had not been in the full possession of his mind and from this act of filial kindness towards his adopted father, Antoninus derived the surname of Pius

The reign of Hadrian formed, on the whole, one of the most peaceful and happy periods of the Roman empire His policy was not to extend the boundaries of the empire but to secure the old provinces and promote their welfare by a fair and just administration But as his presents and kindness to the barbarians might have been insufficient to ward off their attacks, he always

kept his armies in most excellent condition He was the first Roman emperor that seems to have understood his real position as monarch of the Roman empire, which, under him, became more consolidated than it had ever been before He formed for himself a council (*consistorium principis*) with a regular organisation, which gradually deprived the senate of its jurisdiction. Its president henceforth was always a jurist, who may, therefore, be looked upon as a minister of justice Jurisprudence made great progress in his reign, and the *Edictum perpetuum*, which he promulgated, forms an era in the history of Roman law Hadrian was a patron and practical lover of the arts and literature he was very ambitious of praise, and was anxious to make as many friends as possible, but he had the weakness to believe that he excelled them all, and in every thing, which often rendered him troublesome and unbearable.

In his foreign policy Antoninus strictly adhered to the principles of his predecessor, for no attempt was made to increase the extent of the empire, but at the same time all rebellions within and aggressions from without were promptly crushed, either by persuasion or by mere armed demonstrations Hence the movements of the Germans, Dacians and Mauritanians Greeks and Egyptians produced no effects the only commotion that was of any consequence occurred in Britain which was repeatedly invaded by the Brigantes but there the legate Lollius Urbicus in A.D 141, defeated the enemy, and formed a rampart of turf somewhat beyond the line where Agricola had constructed his wall, to stop the inroads of the Caledonians The renown of the wisdom and virtues of Antoninus spread throughout the world, and embassies came to him from the most distant parts of the east to seek his alliance and friendship the Parthians abandoned an attempt upon Armenia merely in consequence of his remonstrances the Scythians submitted their disputes to his arbitration and the barbarians from the Upper Danube received a king from his hands

He devoted equal care to the physical and intellectual improvement of his people the interests of education and literature were promoted in all parts of the empire by the honours and distinctions conferred upon rhetoricians and philosophers who were appointed every where without any reference to sect or school, and received annual salaries of 600 sesterces In A D 141, he founded an institution for the education of poor orphan girls whom he styled *puellae alimentariae Faustinianae* in honour of his wife Faustina, who had died in that year

In private life Antoninus was equally distinguished He lived as a private citizen, accessible to all like a father to his children he even passed over the irregularities of his wife which to a certain extent must have been known to him and after her death loaded her memory with honours The peace of his reign his own fervent piety and scrupulous observance of religious rites gained for him among his contemporaries, the

reputation of a second Numa The first Apology of the Christian religion, addressed to him by Justin the Martyr, procured protection and toleration for the Christians, who then existed in large numbers, both at Rome and in the provinces After his accession, Antoninus never appeared at the head of his armies he refused also to travel through the provinces, that they might not be burthened with the expense of maintaining his court He was fond of the pleasures of a country life, and his excursions were limited to his villas in Campania He died on the 7th of March, A D 161, in his villa at Lorium, at the age of 75

The long peace of his reign, though beneficial in many respects, greatly increased the indolence and effeminacy of the Romans the legions also, stationed in their camps, and spending their time in idleness, lost their warlike spirit, without which the empire could not be safe for any length of time By his wife Faustina he had two daughters and two sons one of the daughters Faustina, was married, in A D 145, to M Aurelius, and his two sons appear to have died long before their father, so that, according to the established order, Antoninus was succeeded by his adopted son, M Aurelius

M Aurelius Antoninus, commonly called the Philosopher, was born at Rome, in A D 121 He had shown, from his childhood an extreme love of truth, and thirst for knowledge his education had been conducted with the greatest care by the celebrated rhetoricians, Herodes Atticus and Cornelius Fronto, and by the stoic philosophers, Junius Rusticus and Apollonius During the reign of Antoninus he had been the constant companion and adviser of that noble-minded man and the most perfect harmony existed between them until the death of Antoninus In March, A D 161, he undertook the government of the empire, and at once admitted his adopted brother, Ceionius Commodus or, as he is commonly called, L Verus, who was eight years younger than himself, to a full participation in the sovereign power This arrangement, a pure act of grace on the part of M Aurelius, was intended to be of advantage, not only to the

monarch himself but to the whole empire, for M Aurelius was of a weakly constitution and took more delight in philosophical and literary pursuits than in war, while L Verus was young active and skilled in all manly exercises though he was addicted to debauchery and voluptuous propensities which he had hitherto carefully concealed

Storms had long been gathering on two parts of the Roman frontier in the east and in the north The former broke out first the Parthian king Vologeses III, who had been restrained by the remonstrances of Antoninus Pius now began a series of ravaging inroads into the Roman provinces, and cut to pieces one whole legion at Elegia L Verus after having been betrothed to Lucilla the daughter of his colleague accordingly proceeded in A.D 162 with an army to Syria On his arrival at Antioch he determined to remain there, and to leave the command of his armies to his generals While he was plunging himself into luxuries and voluptuousness, Avidius Cassius compelled the Parthians to retreat, invaded Mesopotamia destroyed Seleucia, with the royal palace at Ctesiphon and penetrated as far as Babylon another general at the same time made himself master of Armenia and restored the legitimate king Sohemus to his throne Vologeses was compelled to conclude a humiliating peace, and to give up Mesopotamia to his conquerors After the conclusion of this war in A D 166 L. Verus accompanied by a host of actors returned to Rome and celebrated a triumph, which was soon followed by the outbreak of a fearful pestilence during which the celebrated physician, Claudius Galenus who had come to Rome from Pergamus practised his art with great skill

The movements which were going on in the north were still more dangerous, for they extended from the sources of the Danube to the Illyrian border Numbers of barbarous tribes including the Marcomanni Alani Jazyges, Quadi Sarmatae and many others were in commotion and both emperors set out against the foe The contest which now began was continued, with varying success during the whole reign of M. Aurelius

whose head quarters were generally in Pannonia The barbarians, overawed by the power displayed by the emperors, submitted, and sued for peace, which enabled the emperors, in A D 169, to return to Rome, but when they reached Altinum, in the country of the Veneti, L Verus was seized with apoplexy and died The only good that can be said of him is, that he did not thwart the wise plans of his colleague Towards the end of the same year, M Aurelius again set out for Germany, and prosecuted the war against the Marcomanni with great vigour and extraordinary efforts On one occasion a fierce battle was fought on the frozen Danube, but the most important victory was that gained by the emperor over the Quadi, in A D 174 the Romans were rescued from a most perilous situation by a sudden storm, and this signal success of their arms, which was at the time attributed to the interposition of Heaven, seems to have struck terror into the barbarians, who now sought and obtained peace on condition of their withdrawing from the Danube The emperor was prevented from following up this victory by the news of an insurrection in Syria, which threatened to become very dangerous The emperor's wife, Faustina, began to be alarmed about her husband's declining health, and feared lest the government should fall into the hands of another family, since her own son, Commodus, who was born in A D 161, was yet too young to succeed She accordingly desired Avidius Cassius, the governor of Syria, to be prepared for everything, and offered him her hand and the throne if he would aid her in her schemes While these negotiations were going on a report reached Syria that M Aurelius had died, and Avidius Cassius forthwith caused himself to be proclaimed emperor The falseness of the report soon became known, but Cassius, thinking his offence beyond forgiveness resolved to maintain his power, and in a very short time made himself master of all Asia on this side Mount Taurus While M Aurelius was making preparations against the usurper, Cassius was assassinated by a centurion of his own army M Aurelius, however, set out for the east, to restore

produced in A.D. 182, by a conspiracy formed against him by his own sister, Lucilla, who seems to have been jealous of the rank and influence of her brother's wife, Crispina. Her scheme, which was frustrated by the rashness of the assassin who aimed the deadly blow, all at once awakened the slumbering ferocity of Commodus, and the whole of his remaining life is an uninterrupted series of sanguinary and disgusting excesses. Every pretext was seized for indulging in the most savage cruelty: false accusations, vague suspicions, much wealth, high birth, great learning, or any prominent virtue, were sufficient to point out and doom his victims. Nearly all the friends of his father, and others who had risen to eminence under him, were put to death. The cruel and detested Perennis was made commander of the praetorians, and to him were left all the cares of the government, while the tyrant abandoned himself to the most shameless and brutal debaucheries. His wife Crispina was convicted of adultery and exiled; and Marcia, a woman who was well disposed towards the Christians, became his concubine. During the time that he was weltering in vice, he displayed a most contemptible vanity and love of popular applause, which he sought to gratify in the most extraordinary manner. He often danced, sang, played the charioteer and buffoon, disguised himself as a pedlar or horse-dealer, and officiated as a priest in the foreign superstitions that were then in vogue at Rome; but his greatest ambition was to display his skill in the handling of martial weapons: he fought as a gladiator in the circus more than 700 times, and slew many thousands of wild beasts and human beings, for which he demanded to be worshipped as a second Hercules.

In A.D. 186 the legions stationed in Britain were roused by the tyrannical severity with which Perennis treated the soldiers, and an embassy of 1500 soldiers was despatched to Rome to demand his deposition and punishment. Commodus was obliged to yield, but he gave the command of the praetorians to a Phrygian freedman, Cleander, who was even more cruel and avaricious than his predecessor, but who enjoyed the especial favour of Commodus

Shortly after this, while all Italy was suffering from plague and famine, the city populace, during the Circensian games in A D 189, rose against Cleander, literally tore him to pieces, and destroyed his whole family During these scenes Commodus gratified his lusts in a harem, which is said to have contained 300 concubines, and butchered the best of the senators as if they had been wild beasts But, as in all similar cases, he was working his own downfall Having determined to put to death the consuls who were to enter on their office on the first of January A D 193, he was intending to enter the senate house with a band of gladiators His mistress, Marcia, to whom he communicated his plan, cautioned him against its danger, and was warmly supported by Lætus, the prefect of the prætorians, and by Eclectus, an imperial chamberlain Commodus treated their advice with scorn and indignation, and withdrew to his apartment, where, as usual, he drew up a list of the persons who were to be killed the next day This list was by accident carried by one of his dwarfs to Marcia, who, seeing her own name and those of her two supporters at the head of it at once communicated the discovery to them No time was to be lost it was resolved to poison him that evening, but as the poison operated slowly, a celebrated athlete, Narcissus was hired who strangled the tyrant in the night of the 31st of December, A D 192 When his death which was at first cautiously attributed to apoplexy became known, it diffused a general joy throughout Rome, except among the prætorians upon whom he had always lavished the most liberal donations The senate cursed the tyrant, and ordered that his body, like that of a vile malefactor, should be dragged through the streets with iron hooks and cast into the Tiber but Pertinax, who had been proclaimed his successor, was humane enough not to allow it, and the body was interred in the mausoleum of Hadrian

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peace and tranquillity, and his conduct, after his arrival there as well as before, cannot but excite the highest admiration of every friend of humanity not one man was put to death with the emperor's consent, few were punished at all, and the papers of Cassius were burnt without being read in order that no further disclosures might be made During this expedition, Faustina, who accompanied her husband, died in Cilicia, perhaps by her own act that she might escape the punishment she deserved.

Having paid a visit to Egypt and Athens, M Aurelius returned to Rome, in A D 176, after an absence of eight years and celebrated a triumph He gave to every citizen a donation of eight gold pieces made his son Commodus his colleague in the sovereignty, and celebrated the nuptials between him and Crispina. No sooner were these solemnities over, than a fresh insurrection of the Marcomanni once more called M Aurelius away from Rome In the month of August, A D 177, he accordingly marched with Commodus from Rome, which he was never to see again His campaigns were very successful the Marcomanni Hermunduri, Quadi, and Sarmatae, were routed one after another, and everything seemed to indicate that they would soon be finally crushed But the shattered constitution of M Aurelius now gave way, and he died at Vindobona (Vienna) or Sirmium, on the 17th of March, A D 180, at the age of fifty nine, not without a suspicion that his son Commodus had accelerated his death

The most striking features in the character of M Aurelius were his devotedness to the study of philosophy and the affectionate familiarity which he kept up with those who had instructed him in his early life No monarch was ever more widely or more deeply beloved than he, and it was thought impious for any man not to have in his house some picture or statue of the emperor His whole life was an unbroken practical demonstration of the doctrines of the philosophy which he had embraced He was severe and conscientious towards himself, and gentle and merciful towards every one else We still possess his Meditations,

a work which would do honour to any man in any age, and in which he is pourtrayed with all his amiable, affectionate, and benevolent sentiments Although he personally had an aversion to war, yet he firmly and manfully undertook the command of his armies whenever the safety of the empire required it The veneration which the people entertained for him was so great that, after his death, it was believed that he had been some good genius sent from heaven to bless mankind, and that he had now returned to his real home There is only one thing for which he seems to deserve censure, and that is, he sanctioned, in A D 177, a cruel persecution of the Christians in Gaul this conduct is the more surprising, as it was contrary both to his own principles of toleration and to the example set him by his predecessor It must be supposed that he was guided by evil advisers, for many of the philosophers of his age entertained the bitterest intolerance against the new religion

His unworthy son, M Commodus Antoninus, then not yet twenty years old, succeeded his father as a matter of course His education had been superintended with the utmost care and vigilance, and conducted by the ablest and most distinguished men of the time, but all their teaching, and the example set him by his father, were lost upon him and those who knew him well discovered, at an early age, that he was addicted to base pleasures and sensuality It was a weakness in Aurelius that he did not adopt some one of his generals, and make him his successor Immediately after the death of his father, Commodus hastened to make peace with the Marcomanni and Quadi, in order to be able to return to Rome, and indulge in the pleasures of the capital without restraint The love and veneration entertained by every one for his father were transferred to him like an inheritance and at his first appearance in the city, as emperor he was greeted with the most enthusiastic acclamations For a while the hopes of men were not disappointed the only thing they might have complained of was his lavish distribution of money among the populace and soldiers But a change in his conduct was

produced in A.D. 182, by a conspiracy formed against him by his own sister, Lucilla, who seems to have been jealous of the rank and influence of her brother's wife, Crispina. Her scheme, which was frustrated by the rashness of the assassin who aimed the deadly blow, all at once awakened the slumbering ferocity of Commodus, and the whole of his remaining life is an uninterrupted series of sanguinary and disgusting excesses. Every pretext was seized for indulging in the most savage cruelty: false accusations, vague suspicions, much wealth, high birth, great learning, or any prominent virtue, were sufficient to point out and doom his victims. Nearly all the friends of his father, and others who had risen to eminence under him, were put to death. The cruel and detested Perennis was made commander of the practorians, and to him were left all the cares of the government, while the tyrant abandoned himself to the most shameless and brutal debaucheries. His wife Crispina was convicted of adultery and exiled; and Marcia, a woman who was well disposed towards the Christians, became his concubine. During the time that he was weltering in vice, he displayed a most contemptible vanity and love of popular applause, which he sought to gratify in the most extraordinary manner. He often danced, sang, played the charioteer and buffoon, disguised himself as a pedlar or horse-dealer, and officiated as a priest in the foreign superstitions that were then in vogue at Rome; but his greatest ambition was to display his skill in the handling of martial weapons: he fought as a gladiator in the circus more than 700 times, and slew many thousands of wild beasts and human beings, for which he demanded to be worshipped as a second Hercules.

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ances had broken out in Britain where the Caledonians had invaded the country south of the line of fortification, defeated the Roman army, and spread devastation far and wide, but they were repelled by Ulpius Marcellus, who drove them back into their country, and brought the war to a close in A D 184 The Frisians, beyond the Rhine, were conquered in A D 191 There are few characters in history which inspire so unmingled a feeling of disgust and detestation as that of Commodus, for while he possessed all the qualities that can disgrace human nature, his whole history does not present a single trace of a generous action or a kindly feeling

CHAPTER XLVIII

CONCLUDING REMARKS. CONDITION OF THE PEOPLE. LITERATURE AND THE ARTS DURING THE FIRST TWO CENTURIES OF THE EMPIRE.

From this time forward the praetorian guards, whose presumption and arrogance had risen to the highest pitch during the reign of Commodus, exercised a most frightful military despotism, and the legions in the provinces followed their example As it frequently happened that the different bodies of troops did not agree among themselves, or acted independently of one another in the proclamation of an emperor, we find examples of two, three, or four emperors being proclaimed at once, who had to fight for the sovereignty until only one of them survived The praetorians carried their savage and disgraceful conduct so far that, in A D 193, they literally sold the sovereignty to Didius Salvius Julian, for the payment of 30 sesterces to every one of them, which he agreed to give, thus realising the prophecy of Jugurtha Great men, such as Diocletian and Constantine, endeavoured to prevent the downfall of the empire by dividing it into the eastern and the western empire, but it was of no avail, and in A D 476, the Germans, under Odoacer, after the dethronement of Romulus Augustulus, established their dominion in Italy From the reign of Commodus there is nothing but an irregular succession of emperors who, with few exceptions are distinguished only for tyranny and baseness, or impotence and weakness, nothing but a perpetual repetition of civil wars and murders which are wearying and disgusting to the mind Civil order, military discipline, patriotism national spirit, and all great and noble feelings disappear from the Roman world, emperors are proclaimed and murdered, both at Rome and in the provinces, at the mere caprice of the

soldiers A history presenting such spectacles at every step contains little or nothing to elevate or ennoble the heart and mind of man and ought certainly not to be chosen as a subject for youthful minds to dwell upon Those who wish to obtain full and satisfactory information upon the history of the decline and fall of the Roman empire may find it in the masterly work of Gibbon

It had been the system of Augustus to preserve rather than to enlarge the extent of the empire his attempts to conquer Arabia and Ethiopia probably arose from a desire to facilitate and increase the commerce of the Romans with the far distant east, but the climate did not allow them to establish themselves permanently in those countries His arms were more successful in the north of Spain, where he extended his dominion to the Atlantic Ocean, and in the country south of the Danube, where the Romans became masters of Vindelicia, Raetia, Noricum, Pannonia and Moesia.

The wars against the Germans were undertaken with a view to protect Gaul rather than to make any conquests beyond the Rhine, which river on the whole remained the frontier between the Germans and Romans The conquest of Britain had commenced under Claudius and was carried farthest by Agricola In the reign of Trajan the empire acquired its greatest extent, for on the north of the Danube he conquered Dacia, and in the east Armenia, Mesopotamia, Assyria part also of Arabia became subject to Rome and the Roman fleet was stationed in the Red Sea, for the purpose of sailing to India But his successor Hadrian, gave up all these conquests with the exception of Dacia, and again made the Euphrates the eastern boundary The aggressions in the north and east, however still continued and the Mauritanians or Moors began to invade Spain as early as the time of M. Aurelius

The monarchy had been virtually established by Augustus though he was more concerned about the substance than the show of power, but his successors who were not under the neces

sity of proceeding with the same caution, were not satisfied with the substance of monarchical power they also assumed its outward form and appearance The authority of the senate sank in proportion as that of the emperor, and the despotism of the soldiers increased, and after the time of Hadrian, when the sovereign settled the most important affairs of the state with his privy council, the republican publicity of all transactions concerning the state ceased. The tyranny of some of the emperors rose to an incredible pitch for they were not bound by any laws and were always sure of the support of the populace and soldiers, provided they fed paid and amused them liberally Thus led in the end, to the dissolution of all civil government, and the establishment of that unbridled military despotism which finally ruined the empire The pretorians were, indeed, the support of the purple clad despots, but at the same time they looked upon them as their own creatures and felt, therefore no scruples in murdering them or selling their dignity The succession to the empire was not regulated by any law, the idea of an hereditary monarchy did not take root among the Romans until a much later time The only way in which the question about the succession was settled was for the actual emperor, by adoption to point out the man by whom he wished to be succeeded, and if the latter was approved of by the soldiers, the recognition by the senate which was a mere formality followed as a matter of course The senate itself scarcely ever ventured to raise a person to the imperial dignity who had not been previously proclaimed by the soldiers

Laws (*leges*) passed by the people in their assembly entirely disappear after the reign of Augustus the laws mentioned after that time are ordinances of the senate (*senatusconsulta*) formed on the proposal or by the order of the emperor Added to these were the imperial ordinances or constitutions (*constitutiones principis rescripta, decreta, mandata edicta*) which at first were not binding as general laws but came to be so in the course of time The edicts of the praetors lost their former importance since those magistrates were obliged to submit to the opinions

of the jurists, who gradually became great authorities Hadrian ordered the principal praetorian edicts to be collected into one body (*Edictum perpetuum*), and the Roman law thus became reduced to a regular system. The emperor himself formed the highest court of appeal, and, for the purpose of deciding upon cases of appeal, or any other extraordinary cases that might be brought before him, he was assisted by a special council, which must be distinguished from his state council such at least was the case with Hadrian Offences against the state or the person of the emperor were tried by the senate, which, even in the early period of the empire, had degraded itself into a mere tool in the hand of the ruler Civil cases continued to be tried at Rome by the praetors and the prefects of the city, assisted by a number of judges

Augustus, who was well aware that the safety of the monarchy depended, in a great measure, upon the safety of the capital, had made some excellent police regulations A prefect of the corn-market (*praefectus annonae*) superintended the stores and corn trade public buildings, works of art, streets, aqueducts, and the cleansing of the bed of the river, were likewise placed under special inspectors The superintendence of the public games was transferred from the aediles to the praetors, and the sums required for their celebration were furnished from the public treasury But these and many other useful regulations could not be productive of much permanent good, for the demoralisation went on increasing every day, and many of the emperors publicly defied every law of decency

Italian agriculture, which had received its death blow during the latter period of the republic, was completely crushed by the establishment of numerous villas, which, with their parks and pleasure grounds, baths, ponds, and groves, often equalled large towns in extent, and most of the remaining districts were changed into pasture land Manufactures and industry could not thrive at Rome from the want of an active and industrious middle class, the Romans being either enormously wealthy, or living in

abject poverty In the reign of tyrants, the populace were never under the necessity of working or gaining their living by honest labour, for the means of subsistence, as oil, bread, wine, and meat, were lavishly distributed among them by the rulers, either from the public treasury or from their private purse Sometimes such donations were a remedy for momentary suffering, but they contributed more than anything else, to throw the people into that state of indifference and idleness which brought them to the lowest stage of degradation, and no emperor seems to have been able to conceive the idea of bettering the condition of the people by compelling them to be active and industrious Such a populace was just as strong a support of despotism as the prætorian guards, and despots could not be expected to improve its condition All trades and manufactures in the city were generally in the hands of freedmen and foreigners, but the wealthy Romans had usually such hosts of slaves of every description, that all their wants could be satisfied at home without their being obliged to have recourse to the ordinary tradesmen of the city The gross brutality and total absence of every feeling of humanity in the population of Rome shows itself most strikingly in their passionate fondness for the bloody scenes of the circus the sight of murder and of men in the agonies of death, was to them a source of pleasure and delight and their cries for bread were often mixed with cries for murderous games Even Titus was obliged to yield to the clamour of the people and to give gladiatorial games for several days in which thousands of unfortunate gladiators were compelled to destroy one another In like manner Trajan after his Dacian victory had to amuse the populace with games which lasted 103 days and which, in the number of gladiators and wild beasts that appeared in the circus surpassed every similar exhibition seen at Rome All imaginable instruments and artifices of sensuality, voluptuousness, and debauchery, were carried from the east to Italy and the city of Rome, which

became a place of resort for persons of all nations was at the same time a pool of corruption for all It is revolting to read of the shameless crimes and profligacies in the days of a Caligula, Nero and Domitian and we should turn away from the history of Rome in disgust and despair were it not that now and then, a noble being passes across the horizon to show that virtue had not altogether forsaken the empire

The commerce of the Romans had increased in proportion as their wants were multiplied All the countries from the Atlantic Ocean to the Euphrates were open to Roman merchants whose traffic was facilitated by the numerous military roads which had been made in all parts of the empire Myos hormus Dioscurias (Sebastopolis) Alexandria, Massilia Gades Byzantium Antioch Palmyra, Seleucia, and the islands of Naxos Delos Cos and Rhodes were for a long time the great marts whence the Romans imported their luxuries laves and other commodities

The saying of the Greeks that the language of men is like their lives is confirmed also by the history of Rome The corruption of the Latin language was a necessary consequence of the altered form of government and of the languor and indolence into which the nation sank The cultivation of their mother tongue had begun to be neglected in the early part of the empire and Greek became the language of all fashionable circles where the education of children was conducted by Greek tutors and governesses The vast number of slaves and foreigners who came to Rome from all parts contributed not a little towards this corruption the old and powerful simplicity of the language disappeared and the desire to speak and write in a striking and piquant manner produced that hollow pomp and tinkling of words which we meet with as early as the time of Nero

In the reign of Augustus Roman literature had reached its highest perfection but its decline began even before his death for the establishment of the monarchy put an end to all free

public oratory, and eloquence was henceforth cultivated only in funeral orations, or encomiums, and in the rhetorical schools With the accession of Tiberius the flourishing period of literature came to its close the corruption of taste began, and the oppression of the ruler on the one hand and the moral depravity of the people on the other, crushed all free development of intellectual life, which the establishment of libraries, and schools, and the appointment of salaried teachers, were unable to restore But while intellectual activity sank at Rome, it became extended in the provinces, which thus began to participate in the literature of the capital, for booksellers are mentioned at Lyons in Gaul, and they undoubtedly existed in all the great towns of the west A depravation of taste, both in regard to purity of diction and to the manner of handling a subject, may be seen in the poems of Lucan, Valerius Flaccus, Silius Italicos, and Papinius Statius, whose epics are bombastic and learned, but devoid of the genuine spirit of poetry The character of the age afforded ample material for bitter satire, and produced a Persius, Juvenal, Petronius, and Martial, whose works however, in point of taste and refinement, are greatly inferior to the satires of Horace The Æsopic fable was successfully cultivated in verse by Phaedrus, in the reign of Tiberius After the time of Commodus we scarcely meet with a poet deserving of the name

Latin prose likewise degenerated after the reign of Augustus the philosopher Seneca, the instructor of Nero, exercised an injurious influence upon it by the rhetorical and affected manner of his style, which was counteracted though in vain, by the great rhetorician Quintilian In the time of Hadrian and the Antonines, there sprang up a singular fondness for old fashioned and rare words and expressions, as we see in the works of Apuleius and Fronto Historical writing laboured under still greater disadvantages, for at that time men were obliged to be as cautious in what they said of their contemporaries, and even of men of a by-gone age, as in any modern

in the western as well as the eastern parts of the empire, and all the terrors of persecution, and all the opposition of pagan philosophy, were unable to stop its slow but steady progress, for it contained all that was calculated to afford peace and comfort and to inspire a certain hope of better things for which oppressed and suffering humanity was longing

CHRONOLOGICAL TABLE

B C	A U	
753	1	Foundation of Rome.
753-716	1 37	Romulus The senate 200
715 673	38-80	Numa Pompilius Regulation of the year and of religious ceremonies.
673 642	80 112	Tullus Hostilius Fall of Alba and origin of the plebs
642-617	112-136	Ancus Marcius. The founder of the plebeian order Extension of the city and of its territory Ostia founded
617 579	136-174	Tarquinius Priscus The senate increased to 300 Great works of public utility undertaken.
579-535	174-218	Servius Tullius Division of the whole people into 30 tribes Institution of the *comitia tributa*, the *census*, and the *comitia centuriata*.
535 510	218-243	Tarquinius Superbus The constitution of Servius abrogated
510	243	Expulsion of Tarquinius and establishment of the republic First treaty with Carthage
509 507	244 246	War with Porsenna. Rome besieged.
503	250	Death of Valerius Publicola.
501 499	252 254	War with the Latins
499	254	Battle of Lake Regillus. Conclusion of the mythical period of Roman history
495	258	Insurrection of the plebs.
493	260	First secession of the plebs appointment of tribunes of the plebs Treaty concluded by Sp Cassius with the Latin confederacy
491	262	War with the Volscians Corioli taken
486	267	League concluded by Sp. Cassius with the Hernicans. First agrarian law proposed.
485	268	Sp Cassius beheaded Q Fabius defeats the Aequians and Volscians
484-483	269-270	The Curiae assume the right of electing magistrates
483-475	270 278	War with Veii
482	271	Consulship of C Julius and Q Fabius, chosen by the centuries.
481	272	The Tribune Icilius endeavours to obtain the execution of the agrarian law of Sp. Cassius

B.C.	A.U.	
480	273	M Fabius conciliates the plebeians.
479	274	The consul K Fabius, proposes to distribute lands among the plebeians.
477	276	Defeat of the Fabii by the Etruscans.
476	277	Recovery of the Janiculum from the Etruscans.
475	278	Impeachmen of C Servilius by the tribunes.
473	280	The tribune Genucius assassinated.
472-471	281 282	Publilius Volero, trib. pl. carries bills to the effect that the trib. pl. shall be elected by the comitia tributa, and that that assembly may pass *plebiscita* binding upon all the people
471	282	Ap. Claudius, the consul, deserted by his army
470	283	Ap. Claudius impeached, and commits suicide.
468	285	Struggles between the patricians and plebeians.
463-446	288-307	Wars with the Aequians and Volscians.
463	290	Pestilence at Rome.
462	291	C Terentilius Arsa, trib. pl. proposes a revision of the laws.
461-456	292-297	Struggles between the two orders. The same tribunes re-elected every year
458	295	Defeat of L. Minucius. Cincinnatus dictator
457	296	Tribunes increased from five to ten.
456	297	The tribune Icilius compels the senate to take the plebiscitum Ater consideration
454	299	Embassy sent to Greece
451	302	The decemvirs enter on their office Laws of the ten tables promulgated.
450-449	303-304	Second appointment of Decemvirs Two additional tables of laws compiled. The patricians and their clients incorporated in the local tribes.
449	304	Defeat of two Roman armies by the Sabines and Aequians. Betrayal of Dentatus.
448	305	Death of Virginia. Second secession to Mons Sacer Valerian Laws increasing the power of the plebeians. *Impeachment* of the Decemvirs.
447	306	Defeat of the Aequians, Volscians and Sabines.
446	307	Defeat of the Aequians at Corbio.
445	308	The tribune C Canuleius proposes a bill to establish the *connubium* between the two orders. His colleagues propose another, that one of the consuls shall always be a plebeian.
444	309	Consular tribunes elected.
443	310	The censorship instituted, and *duumviri navales* appointed.
440	313	Famine at Rome.
439	314	Cincinnatus dictator Sp. Maelius killed
438	315	Revolt of Fidenae. War with Veii.
435	318	Fidenae re-conquered.
431	322	War with the Aequians and Volscians
426	327	War with Veii.
423-416	330-338	War with the Volscians and Aequians.

B C	A U	
407	346	Unsuccessful war with the Volscians Pay decreed by the senate to the troops.
405-396	348 357	Siege of Veii The city taken in the latter year by M Furius Camillus, dictator
393	360	Distribution of the Veientine territory among the plebians.
391	362	War with Volsinii. Camillus goes into exile The Gauls invade Etruria.
390	363	Battle of the Allia. The Romans defeated by the Gauls Rome taken and plundered
389	364	Rome re-built. The Latins and Hernicans renounce their alliance with Rome The number of the tribes increased to twenty five
389 385	364 368	Wars with the Etruscans, Volscians, and Aequians.
385	368	War with Velitrae Manlius condemned by the curiæ, and treacherously killed
384	370	The Pomptine district assigned to the plebeians.
383	371	War with Praeneste
381	372	Camillus, consular tribune
380	373	T Quinctius Cincinnatus, dictator, takes Praeneste
376	377	Conclusion of the war against Antium
376 367	377 386	Struggles between the two orders anarchy at Rome C Licinius Stolo and L. Sextius, tribunes every year Their legislation intended to improve the condition of the plebeians and to increase their political power
371	382	Consular tribunes elected. War with Velitrae
368	385	Camillus and P Manlius appointed dictators Camillus appointed again, and defeats the Gauls.
366	387	L. Sextius first plebeian consul. First appointment of praetor
365	388	Death of Camillus. Plague at Rome
363	390	L. Manlius dictator
362	391	Impeachment of Manlius. Earthquake at Rome Self devotion of M Curtius.
361	392	War with the Hernicans defeat of the plebeian consul L. Genucius App Claudius, dictator Inroad of the Gauls. T Quinctius Pennus, dictator Single combat of T Manlius.
360	393	War with the Tiburtines and Gauls who are defeated.
359	394	The Tiburtines attempt to surprise Rome by night.
358	395	War with Tarquinii. Renewal of the alliance with Latium C. Sulpicius defeats the Gauls. C. Poetelius trib. pl., proposes a law *de ambitu*.
357	396	C Licinius fined for an infraction of his own law Ten per cent. made the legal rate of interest Privernum taken.
356	397	Defeat of the Etruscans. C Marcius Rutilus, first plebeian dictator, defeats them a second time
354	399	Slaughter of Etruscan prisoners.
353	400	War with Caere

B.C.	A.U.	
352	401	*Appointment of commissioners for a general liquidation of debts.*
351	402	War with the Tarquinians and Faliscans.
350	403	The Gauls encamp in Latium.
349	404	Single combat of M. Valerius Corvus. Defeat of the Gauls by L. Furius Camillus.
348	405	*Renewal of the treaty with Carthage.*
347	406	Reduction of the rate of interest to five per cent.
346	407	War with the Volscians. Satricum taken.
343	410	Commencement of *first* war with *the Samnites.* Defeat of the Samnites by M. Valerius Corvus.
342	411	Insurrection of the plebeians at Rome and of the army at Capua. Valerius appointed dictator. General cancelling of debts. various laws passed to diminish the power of the patricians.
341	412	Peace and alliance with the Samnites.
340	413	P. Decius and T. Manlius consuls. The Romans reject the proposals of the Latins, and declare war against them. Self-devotion of Decius, and defeat of the Latins. Dissolution of the Latin confederacy and distribution of their domain.
339	414	Renewal of war with the Latins. Q. Publilius Philo, dictator, succeeds in passing three bills to abolish the veto of the curiæ on the measures of the *comitia centuriata* and *tributa*, and ordaining that one of the censors shall always be a plebeian.
338	415	Subjugation of Latium concluded.
336	417	Peace with the Gauls.
330	423	Revolt of Fondi and Privernum.
329-328	424-425	Colonies sent to Anxur and Fregellæ.
327	426	War with the Neapolitans.
326	427	Commencement of the second Samnite war. The Samnites defeated by Q. Fabius Maximus at Imbrinium. A law carried that no plebeian shall become a *nexus*.
321	432	Surrender of the Roman army at the Caudine forks.
320-319	433-434	L. Papirius Cursor defeats the Samnites.
318-317	435-436	Truce with the Samnites.
315	438	The Dictator Fabius defeated by the Samnites.
314	439	Several defeats of the Samnites. Revolt of Capua.
313	440	Many towns taken by the Romans. *Colonies founded.*
312	441	The consul Valerius defeats the Samnites. App. Claudius, censor, divides all the low people among all the tribes, constructs the Via Appia. Cn. Flavius publishes a calendar of the *dies fasti* and *nefasti*.
311	442	War with Etruria breaks out. The Samnites defeated.
310	443	The Samnites defeat the consul C. Marcius. L. Papirius Cursor dictator defeats the Samnites. Q. Fabius Maximus defeats the Etruscans.
308	445	Q. Fabius Maximus defeats the Samnites and their allies.
30	446	Fabius proconsul, takes Allifæ.

B.C.	A.U.	
306	447	War with the Hernicans. The Samnites defeated
305	448	Defeat of and truce with the Samnites
304	449	Peace concluded with Samnium. The Aequians defeated. The Censors place all the low people in the four city tribes.
300	453	The Ogulnian law passed, ordaining that four of the pontiffs and five of the augurs shall always be plebeians.
299	454	Two new tribes formed of Aequians. The Roman territory invaded by the Gauls
298	455	Commencement of the third Samnite war The Samnites defeated at Bovianum, the Etruscans at Volaterrae
297	456	Defeat of the Samnites and Apulians
295	458	Great defeat of the Samnites, Etruscans, and Gauls at Sentinum. Self-devotion of the consul P Decius Mus.
293-291	460-462	Famine and epidemic at Rome
293	460	Samnites totally defeated First sun-dial set up at Rome
292	461	Defeat of Q Fabius Gurges by the Samnites Final defeat of the Samnites.
291	462	Execution of C Pontius, the Samnite general
290	463	Peace concluded with Samnium. War with the Sabines. Assignments of land in their territory
287	466	Last secession of the plebs. Q Hortensius, dictator, abolishes the veto of the senate on the legislative measures of the plebs
285	468	The Gauls besiege Arretium and defeat the Romans Utter defeat of the Gauls and Etruscans
282	471	The relief of Thurii The Tarentines attack a Roman fleet.
281	472	War with Tarentum and Pyrrhus.
280	473	Pyrrhus defeats the Romans on the Lucis.
279	474	The Romans defeated by Pyrrhus near Asculum Defensive alliance concluded between Rome and Carthage
278	475	Truce with Pyrrhus, who goes to Sicily The Romans defeat various nations of Italy
277	476	War in Samnium. Capture of Croton.
276	477	Pyrrhus returns to Italy
275	478	Total defeat of Pyrrhus near Beneventum He abandons Italy
273	480	Treaty concluded with Ptolemy Philadelphus.
272	481	Conclusion of the war in Southern Italy Tarentum taken. The era of a great change in the manners and mode of living among the Romans.
269	484	First issue of silver coins at Rome
268	485	Commencement of the last Samnite war
266	487	Brundusium taken. Subjugation of Italy completed Change in the mode of filling up vacancies in the Senate

B.C.	A.U.	
264	490	Alliance formed with the Mamertines. The Romans land in Sicily and attack the Carthaginians. First gladiatorial exhibition at Rome.
263-241	490-512	The first Punic war.
263	490	Peace with Hiero. Ambassadors required to defray the expences of the public festivals and games.
262	491	Agrigentum taken. The first Roman fleet built.
260	493	Duilius obtains the first naval victory over the Carthaginians.
259	494	Attack on Sardinia and Corsica. Conspiracy at Rome.
258	495	Successes of the Romans in Sicily.
257	496	Naval victory off Tyndaris.
256	497	Naval victory off Ecnomus. The Romans land in Africa.
255	498	Regulus takes Tunis, but is defeated and taken prisoner. Naval victory off Cape Hermaeum. The Romans quit Africa. The Roman fleet wrecked.
254	499	The second Roman fleet built. Panormus taken.
253	500	Tib. Coruncanius first plebeian pontifex maximus.
252	501	The Roman fleet wrecked.
250	503	Metellus defeats the Carthaginians at Panormus. The Romans reject the proposal for a peace. Third fleet built. Lilybaeum besieged.
249	504	Claudius Pulcher defeated. The Roman fleet wrecked.
248	505	The Carthaginians land in Italy. Hamilcar Barca appointed their general.
247-244	506-509	Sieges of Lilybaeum and Drepana.
243	510	Hamilcar defeated by C. Fundanius. A second praetor appointed.
241	512	Naval victory off the Aegatian islands. Peace concluded with Carthage. Sicily the first province. Revolt of Falerii.
240	513	The first tragedy produced at Rome by Livius Andronicus.
239	514	Ennius the poet born.
238	515	Sardinia and Corsica taken. War with the natives and with the Gauls. Hamilcar goes to Spain.
232	521	Agrarian law of the tribune C. Flaminius.
229	524	War with the Illyrians. Embassies to Athens and Corinth. Death of Hamilcar.
228	525	Treaty with Hasdrubal.
227	526	Plautus the comedian born.
226	527	Italy invaded by the Gauls.
225	528	Defeat of the Gauls in Etruria.
224	529	The Boii submit. The Romans cross the Po.
223	530	The Insubrians defeated by C. Flaminius.
222	531	The war with the Gauls concluded at the battle of Clastidium. Formation of the province of Gallia Cisalpina.
221	532	Death of Hasdrubal. Pacuvius the poet born.
219	534	Second Illyrian war. Siege of Saguntum by Hannibal. First medica shop opened at Rome by a Greek.

B C	A U.	
218-202	535 551	The second Punic war.
218	535	Hannibal crosses the Alps into Italy Battles of the Ticinus and the Trebia. War in Spain
217	536	Battle of Lake Trasimenus Q Fabius Maximus *elected* dictator
216	537	Battle of Cannæ. Revolt of Capua and many other cities The war begins to turn in favour of the Romans Death of Hiero Successes of the Romans in Spain
215	538	Hannibal repulsed at Nola. Capua blockaded by the Romans Hannibal encamps near Rome Commencement of the first Macedonian war. Sumptuary law of C Oppius
214 212	539 541	Siege of Syracuse by Marcellus
212	541	Hannibal takes Tarentum. The Romans defeated in Spain.
211	542	Capua taken by the Romans Scipio Africanus appointed to the command in Spain. Takes New Carthage The Aetolians desert Philip of Macedonia and join the Romans
209	544	Tarentum re-taken by Fabius Scipio defeats the Carthaginians near Baecula.
208	545	Hasdrubal sets out for Italy. The Carthaginians evacuate Spain
207	546	Hasdrubal arrives in Italy, is defeated on the Metaurus and slain Insurrection in Scipio's army. The Aetolians make peace with Philip
206	547	Scipio crosses over into Africa, concludes a treaty with Syphax
205	548	Scipio chosen consul, though under the legitimate age, goes to Sicily Peace concluded between the Romans and Philip
204	549	Scipio lands in Africa, defeats the Carthaginians and Syphax *Lex Cincia muneralis*
203	550	Death of Cn Naevius, the poet
202	551	Hannibal quits Italy for Africa. Battle of Zama. Peace concluded Philip forms an alliance with Antiochus the Great Sextus Aelius Catus promulgates the legal formulae
201	552	Peace ratified Scipio returns to Rome The Roman dominion extends over Italy, Sicily, Sardinia, Corsica, and a great part of Spain, Carthage and Numidia dependent on it The senate appointed guardian of Ptolemaeus Epiphanes, king of Egypt.
200	553	The Gauls in Italy reduced to obedience Commencement of the second Macedonian war, and of that against the Ligurians.
198	555	Philip defeated at Antigoneia by Flamininus
197	556	Battle of Cynoscephalae, Philip defeated, peace concluded
196	557	Flamininus proclaims the independence of Greece Antiochus takes possession of the Thracian Chersonesus Hannibal takes refuge at his court

B.C.	A.U.	
195	558	War with Nabis. Order restored in Spain by Cato. Repeal of the *Lex Oppia*. *Terence born.*
194	559	Flamininus returns to Rome in triumph.
193	560	The Aetolians invite Antiochus into Greece
192	561	Antiochus enters Europe War with Nabis.
191	562	Antiochus and the Aetolians defeated at Thermopylae *Peace with the Aetolians* *The Romans defeat the fleet of Antiochus.*
190	563	Antiochus defeated by L. Scipio at Magnesia. Peace concluded with him.
189	564	War with the Aetolians Peace concluded. War with the *Galatians in Phrygia.*
187	566	Scipio is accused by Cato of embezzlement and retires from Rome
185	568	Death of Lucius Scipio (Asiaticus)
184	569	Cato Censor expels L. Quinctius Flamininus from the senate. *The senate forbids the erection of a theatre in Rome*
183	570	Hannibal dies by taking poison. Death of Scipio Africanus.*
182	571	Commissioners sent into Macedonia. Masinissa encroaches *on the territory of Carthage*
181	572	The Ligurians transplanted to Samnium War breaks out in Spain. Orchian sumptuary law passed
180	573	The Villian law relating to magistracies passed.
179	574	Peace restored in Spain by Tib Sempronius Gracchus. Death of Philip of Macedonia. Perseus recognized *as his successor*
178-177	575-576	War with the Istrians. Revolt in Sardinia and Corsica. *Subjugation of the former*
174	579	The Carthaginians compelled to submit to Masinissa's encroachments The streets of Rome ordered to be paved
173	581	Eumenes goes to Rome to denounce Perseus
171	583	Perseus declares war against Rome
171 168	583-585	Third Macedonian war
168	585	Aemilius Paulus defeats Perseus at Pydna end of the kingdom of Macedonia. The affairs of Greece settled and *Epirus punished* *Third Illyrian war* conquest of Illyricum A Roman embassy compels Antiochus Epiphanes to quit Egypt.
167	586	Aemilian and Fufian law passed to check the power of the tribunes.
164	589	The Romans declare Antiochus V king of Syria.
163	591	The Romans divide Egypt between Philometor and Physcon.
161	592	Fannian sumptuary law passed
155	598	The Athenians send an embassy to Rome.
153	600	War in Spain against the *Celtiberians and Lusitanians*

* Vide notes 7 and 8, p. 340 for the various dates assigned to these events.

B.C.	A.U.	
152	601	The Carthaginians take up arms against Masinissa. A law passed to levy the troops by lot.
151	602	The Achæan hostages allowed to return to Greece
149-146	604-607	The third Punic war
149	604	A pretender to the throne of Macedonia comes forward. *Lex Calpurnia de pecuniis repetundis*
148	605	Carthage besieged Death of Masinissa and Cato Insurrection in Greece Battle of Pydna.
148-140	605-613	War with the Lusitanians under Viriathus.
147	606	P. Cornelius Scipio (Africanus Minor) chosen consul to conduct the war in Africa War declared between Rome and the Achæans. Metellus defeats Critolaus.
146	607	Scipio's command continued Carthage taken and razed to the ground. Mummius defeats the Achæans takes Corinth, Thebes, and Chalcis which are plundered and destroyed
143	610	Another pretender in Macedonia defeated. That country formed into a Roman province Scipio censor
143-133	610-620	War against Numantia.
140	613	A peace made with Numantia, but afterwards denied by Q. Pompeius Assassination of Viriathus
138	615	D. Junius Brutus subdues Lusitania.
137	616	A peace made with Numantia, but declared invalid by the senate
134	619	Scipio elected consul and sent against Numantia. Insurrection of slaves in Sicily
133	620	Numantia destroyed, a Roman province formed in Spain Death of Attalus Philometor, king of Pergamus Tiberius Gracchus elected tribune of the people his legislation and murder
132	621	Defeat of the slaves in Sicily Scipio returns from Spain
131	622	Both the censors plebeians.
131-130	622-623	War in Asia Minor
129	624	War in Asia Minor concluded The kingdom of Pergamus formed into a Roman province Death of Scipio C. Papirius Carbo carries a law relating to the mode of voting
126	627	The tribune M. Junius Pennus carries a law ordering all aliens to quit Rome Destruction of Fregellæ Flaccus defeats the Salluvii and lays the foundation of the Roman dominion in Gaul
126-122	627-631	War with the Allobroges and Arverni
124	629	Caius Gracchus returns to Rome from Sardinia.
123	630	C. Gracchus elected tribune of the people The Balearian islands subdued
122	631	C. Gracchus re-elected Carries a law giving judicial functions to the equites Endeavours to confer the Roman franchise upon the Italians
121	632	L. Opimius consul C. Gracchus fails in his suit for the tribuneship his murder Formation of a Roman province in Gaul

B.C.	A.U.	
119	634	C. Marius, tribune of the people.
118	635	Death of Micipsa.
117	636	Dalmatia subdued. Murder of Hiempsal.
112	641	Death of Adherbal.
111 106	642 647	War against Jugurtha.
110	643	The Romans compelled by Jugurtha to agree to a peace which the senate refuses to ratify.
109	644	Q. Caecilius Metellus undertakes the command against Jugurtha. The consul M. Junius Silanus defeated by the Cimbri.
10	646	C. Marius, consul, assumes the management of the war against Jugurtha. The Cimbri defeat the consul L. Cassius Longinus.
106	647	The war against Jugurtha brought to a close by his capture.
105	648	The Cimbri defeat Q. Servilius Caepio and Cn. Manlius Maximus.
104 103	649 650	Marius's second and third consulship.
102	651	Marius in his fourth consulship completely defeats the Teutoni near Aquae Sextiae.
102 99	651 654	Servile war in Sicily.
101	652	Fifth consulship of Marius. Marius and Catulus defeat the Cimbri near Verona. Agrarian law carried by Saturninus.
100	653	Sixth consulship of Marius. Execution of Saturninus and Glaucia. C. Julius Caesar born 12th of July. Insurrection in Spain.
93	655	War with the Celtiberians.
96	657	The Romans obtain the kingdom of Cyrene.
95	658	Law carried by Licinius Crassus and Mucius Scaevola forbidding the Italians to exercise the privileges of Roman citizens.

B.C.	A.U.	
		Rome. Massacre of his opponents. Sulla carries on the war against Mithridates in Greece.
86	667	Seventh consulship and death of Marius. Peace with the Samnites, who receive the Roman franchise. Athens taken by Sulla. L. Valerius Flaccus murdered by Fimbria in Asia.
85	668	Sulla defeats Archelaus at Chaeronea and Orchomenos. Negotiations commenced.
84	669	Interview between Sulla and Mithridates. Peace concluded. Fourth consulship and death of Cinna.
83 81	670 672	Second war with Mithridates.
83	670	Sulla returns to Italy. Civil war.
82	671	Sulla enters Rome. First proscription. Sulla appointed dictator for an indefinite period. Sertorius goes to Spain.
81 80	672 673	Legislation of Sulla. Establishment of an oligarchy. colonies founded. the Roman franchise conferred on 10 000 slaves.
79	674	Sulla lays down the dictatorship.
79-72	674 681	War against Sertorius in Spain. concluded in the latter year by his assassination.
78	675	Death of Sulla. Civil war between Lepidus and Catulus.
78-67	675-686	War against the pirates in the Mediterranean.
77 72	676-681	War against the Thracians.
76 74	677-679	Attempts made to repeal various parts of Sulla's legislation.
74-63	679 690	Third Mithridatic war.
74	679	Siege of Cyzicus by Mithridates. the town relieved by Lucullus.
73 71	680-682	Servile war in Italy under Spartacus. Verres propraetor in Sicily.
72	681	M. Lucullus subdues the Bessi and crosses the Danube.
70	683	Cn. Pompey and M. Crassus consuls. Sulla's laws respecting the tribunes and the administration of justice repealed.
69	684	Lucullus besieges Mithridates and Tigranes at Tigranocerta. the city taken.
68	685	Insurrection in the army of Lucullus.
67	686	Pompey invested for three years with the supreme command in the Mediterranean. Brings the war against the pirates to a close. Crete subdued by L. Metellus. Lucullus superseded in his command.
66	687	Pompey appointed to conduct the war against Mithridates whom he defeats on the Euphrates. concludes a peace with Tigranes. Catiline's first conspiracy.
65	688	Caesar becomes the avowed head of the Marian party.
63	690	Cicero consul. discovers and frustrates Catiline's second conspiracy. Death of Mithridates. Pompey constitutes Syria with Phoenicia a Roman province. besieges and takes Jerusalem.

B.C.	A.U.	
62	691	Catiline defeated and slain. Pompey lands in Italy. Caesar appointed praetor.
61	692	Pompey arrives at Rome. Caesar in Spain.
60	693	Caesar returns to Rome. Formation of the first triumvirate.
59	694	Caesar's first consulship carries an agrarian law. Receives the provinces of Cisalpine and Transalpine Gaul and Illyricum for five years.
58-50	695-703	Caesar's campaigns in Gaul.
58	695	Clodius tribune, Cicero goes into exile and is outlawed.
57	696	Cicero recalled. Pompey invested with extraordinary powers. Ptolemy Auletes king of Egypt comes to Rome.
55	698	Second consulship of Pompey and Crassus. Caesar's administration of Gaul prolonged for five years. Caesar crosses the Rhine and lands in Britain. Ptolemy Auletes restored by A. Gabinius. Crassus goes to Syria.
54	699	Second invasion of Britain by Caesar. Crassus enters Mesopotamia.
53	700	Caesar again crosses the Rhine. Death of Crassus, and destruction of his army by the Parthians. Death

B.C.	A.U.	
		portations for civil war. Antony declared by the senate a public enemy.
43	710	Civil war in the north of Italy between Antony and the senate. Octavianus consul. The murderers of Cæsar outlawed. Octavianus, Antony, and Lepidus form the second triumvirate. The second proscription. Death of Cicero on the 7th of December. Ovid born.
42	711	War in Greece between the republican party and the triumvirs. Battle of Philippi, death of Cassius. Second battle of Philippi, and death of Brutus. Distribution of lands among the veterans in Italy.
41	712	War of Perusia. Antony in Asia and Egypt.
40	713	War with the Parthians. Antony returns to Italy. War between him and Octavianus. A new alliance formed between them at Brundusium.
39	714	Interview between the triumvirs and Sextus Pompeius. Antony goes to Athens.
38	715	War between Octavianus and Pompeius.
37	716	Antony comes to Tarentum with 300 ships. The office of the triumvirs continued for five years longer.
36	717	Pompeius attacked in Sicily and compelled to flee into Asia. Lepidus ceases to be one of the triumvirs. Antony commences the war against the Parthians, but without success.
35	718	Pompeius put to death at Miletus. Octavianus wages war against the Japydes and Pannonians. Antony repudiates Octavia.
34	719	Antony invades and subdues Armenia. Octavianus proceeds to Dalmatia.
33-32	720-721	Second and third consulships of Octavianus, who remains at Rome. War declared against Antony at the end of the latter year.
31	722	Battle of Actium, in which the fleet of Antony and Cleopatra is totally defeated, 2nd of September. Octavianus proceeds to the East.
30	723	War in Egypt. Death of Antony and Cleopatra. Egypt made a Roman province. Conspiracy formed by M. Lepidus, who is arrested and put to death.
29	724	Octavianus returns to Rome and celebrates a threefold triumph. The Temple of Janus closed. End of the Roman republic.
27	726	Octavianus receives the titles of *Augustus* and *Imperator*. Division of the provinces between him and the Senate. War with the Dacians.
27-24	726-729	Augustus conducts the war in Spain against the Cantabri.
25-13	728-740	War against the Alpine tribes, who are at length completely subdued.
24	729	Augustus formally exempted from all laws. Unsuccessful expedition into Arabia Felix.
23	730	Augustus invested with the tribunician power for life. Death of his nephew Marcellus.

A D	A U	
28	781	Revolt of the Frisians
29	782	Tiberius's relatives banished Death of his mother Livia
31	784	Fall and execution of Sejanus
33	786	Death of Agrippina and Drusus
37	790	Tiberius murdered by Macro, in March
37-41	790 794	Reign of Caligula.
37	790	Puts to death many of his own relatives and friends The emperor Nero born
38	791	Death of Drusilla.
39	792	Caligula goes into Gaul A conspiracy against him discovered and suppressed
40	793	Sets out on an expedition to Britain.
41	794	Caligula murdered, 24th January
41 54	794 807	Reign of Claudius Wars with the Germans
41	794	The emperor proclaims an amnesty
42	795	A conspiracy discovered. Mauritania divided into two provinces
43-51	796 804	War in Britain
43	796	Claudius in Britain.
44	797	Death of Agrippa. Judaea and Samaria placed under Roman governors.
47	800	The Cheruscans apply to Claudius for a king The Frisians subdued
48	801	Execution of Messalina Claudius marries Agrippina, whose son, Nero, he adopts
50	803	War with the Parthians Colonia Agrippina founded
51	804	Caractacus taken prisoner and sent to Rome The south eastern part of Britain formed into a province
54	807	Claudius poisoned, 13th of October
54 68	807-821	Reign of Nero
54 59	807-812	Nero governs with prudence and moderation.
54	807	War with the Parthians in Armenia.
56	809	Britannicus poisoned
58	811	Tiridates driven out of Armenia.
60	813	Agrippina, Nero's mother, murdered by his order Complete subjugation of Armenia
61	814	Insurrection in Britain under Boadicea.
62	815	The emperor's wife, Octavia, banished, and soon afterwards murdered The Parthians again invade Armenia.
64	817	Conflagration at Rome First persecution of the Christians
65	818	A conspiracy against Nero discovered and suppressed Lucan, the poet, and Seneca put to death
66	819	Tiridates, king of Armenia, comes to Rome to receive his crown from the emperor
67	820	Nero goes to Greece, and enters the contests at the Olympian games Insurrection of the Jews. Vespasian appointed to the command against them.
68	821	Insurrection in Gaul Servius Galba proclaimed emperor Nero kills himself on the 9th of June
68-69	821-822	Reign of Galba. A. Vitellius appointed to command on

A.D.	A.U.	
		the Rhine. Otho forms a conspiracy against Galba, who is murdered in the forum, January A.D. 69.
69	822	Reign of Otho. The prætorians appoint their own commander. Vitellius proclaimed emperor by the legions on the Rhine. War between Otho and Vitellius. Otho kills himself on the 16th of April.
69	822	Reign of Vitellius. Vespasian proclaimed emperor at Alexandria. The army of Vitellius defeated at Bedriacum. Rome taken, and Vitellius killed, on the 20th of December.
69-79	822-832	Reign of Vespasian. Order and discipline restored. The Colosseum built.
70	823	Vespasian arrives at Rome. Jerusalem taken by his son Titus. War in Gaul.
71	824	Disturbances in Britain. Agricola goes thither.
74	827	Helvidius Priscus put to death.
77	830	Agricola appointed governor of Britain.
79	832	Conspiracy formed against the emperor, but discovered before, on the 23rd of June.
79-81	832-834	Reign of Titus. Peace throughout the empire.
79	832	Eruption of Vesuvius, and destruction of Herculaneum, Pompeii and Pompeii.
80	833	Great fire at Rome, followed by a pestilence.
81	834	Inauguration of the Colosseum. Death of Titus, on the 13th of September.
81-96	834-849	Reign of Domitian.
84	837	The emperor conducts a war against the Chatti, and assumes the name of Germanicus. Agricola defeats the Caledonians under Calgacus.
		Agricola recalled to Rome.
85	838	Birth of the emperor Antoninus Pius.
86	839	War against the Dacians.
86-90	839-843	War against the Quadi and Marcomanni. Domitian defeated by them, concludes a peace with the Dacians.
90	843	Insurrection and defeat of L. Antonius in Germany.
91	844	Persecution of the Jews and Christians.
95	848	Conspiracy formed by the emperor's wife and others. Domitian assassinated, 18th of September.
96	849	Reign of Nerva, who attempts to combine political freedom and the sovereign power of the monarch.
96-98	849-851	The emperor adopts M. Ulpius Trajan.
97	850	Death of Nerva on the 27th of January.
98	851	Reign of Trajan.
98-117	851-870	Trajan arrives at Rome; first idea of a public system of education.
99	852	War with the Dacians, who are compelled to sue for peace.
100-102	853-855	War with the Dacians. Trajan constructs a stone bridge over the Danube.
101	857	Dacia formed into a Roman province. Arabia Petræa subdued.
105	858	

A D	A U	
114	867	War with the Parthians Armenia made a Roman province The *columna Trajana* erected at Rome
115	868	Trajan subdues Assyria and Parthia.
116	869	Revolt of the Assyrians and Parthians.
117	870	Trajan enters Arabia, while returning to Rome, dies in Cilicia on the 9th of August.
117 138	870-891	Reign of Hadrian
117	870	Hadrian proclaimed emperor at Antioch Renounces all conquests east of the Euphrates.
118	871	Hadrian returns to Rome sets out for Moesia a conspiracy against him discovered returns to Italy War against the Sarmatae
119	872	The emperor begins a journey through all the provinces of the empire, beginning with Gaul and Germany
121	874	Goes to Britain, Gaul, and Spain The emperor M Aurelius Antoninus born
122	875	Hadrian returns to Rome goes to the east.
123 125	875-878	The emperor at Athens
129	882	Visits Africa and the east returns to Athens
131	884	The *Edictum perpetuum* promulgated Insurrection of the Jews in Syria.
133	888	The emperor adopts L. Aelius Verus.
138	891	Death of Verus Hadrian adopts Antoninus Pius dies on the 10th of July
138 161	891 914	Reign of Antoninus Pius Nearly unbroken peace over the whole empire the Christians tolerated and protected.
141	894	The Brigantes defeated in Britain
145	898	Marriage of M Aurelius to the emperor's daughter Faustina.
153	906	Conflagrations at Narbonne Antioch and Carthage
161	914	Death of the emperor on the 7th of March
161 180	914 933	Reign of M Aurelius Antoninus
161	914	Birth of the emperor Commodus L Verus made the emperor's colleague
162-166	915-919	War with the Parthians, who are compelled to sue for peace
167	920	Pestilence at Rome
167 174	920-927	War with the northern tribes.
169	922	The emperor's return to Rome Death of Verus
174	927	Great victory over the Quadi Insurrection of Avidius Cassius in Syria.
175	928	Aurelius in the East.
176	929	Returns to Rome makes his son Commodus his colleague
177 180	930 933	War with the Marcomanni
177	930	Persecution of the Christians in Gaul.
180	933	Death of Aurelius at Vienna on the 17th of March
180-192	933 945	Reign of Commodus.
182	935	Conspiracy formed against the emperor by his sister
184	937	The Caledonians defeated

A. D.	A. U.	
186	939	The legions in Britain demand the deposition of Perennis.
189	942	Cleander his successor torn in pieces by the populace at Rome
192	945	Assassination of Commodus on the 31st of December
193	946	The reign of Pertinax for three months, when he was assassinated.
		The sovereignty *sold* to Didius Salvius Julianus
476	1229	The overthrow of the Western Empire

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